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THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

OF

Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Iles,

WITH

THE NAMES OF THE ADVENTURERS, PLANTERS, AND GOVERNOURS FROM THEIR FIRST BEGINNING, AN. 1584. TO THIS PRESENT 1626.

WITH

THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THOSE SEVERALL COLONIES AND THE ACCIDENTS THAT BEFELL THEM IN ALL THEIR IOURNYES AND DISCOVERIES.

ALSO

THE MAPS AND DESCRIPTIONS

OF THOSE COUNTRYES, THEIR COMMODITIES, PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMES, AND RELIGION YET KNOWNE.

DIVIDED INTO SIXE BOOKES.

By CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

SOMETYMES GOVERNOUR OF THOSE COUNTRYES AND ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND.

v. 2

VOL. II.

FROM THE LONDON EDITION OF 1629.

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DIVIDED INTO SIX BOOKS.

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THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

TO

MAKE PLAINE

THE

TRVE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORIE FOR 1609.

WE MUST FOLLOW THE EXAMINATIONS OF DOCTOR SIMONS, AND TWO LEARNED ORATIONS PUBLISHED BY THE COMPANIE: WITH THE RELATION OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD DE LA WARE.

What happened in the first gouernment after the alteration in the time of Captaine George Piercie *their Governour.*

THE day before Captaine *Smith* returned for *England* with the ships, Captaine *Dauis* arriued in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from *Iames* towne, vnder the command of Captaine *Iohn Sickelmore* alias *Ratliffe*, to inhabit *Point Comfort.*— Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *West*, hauing lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Saluages, were returned to *Iames* towne; for the Saluages no sooner vnderstood *Smith* was gone, but they all reuolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. Now wee were all constrained to liue onely on that *Smith* had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master *Piercie* our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine *West* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore* vpon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine, onely *Ieffery Shortridge* escaped, and *Pokahontas* the Kings daughter

saued a boy called *Henry Spilman*, that liued many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the *Patawomekes*. *Powhatan* still as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, so that Captaine *West* set saile for *England*. Now we all found the losse of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne, prouision and contribution from the Saluages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our commanders, officers and Saluages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was deuoured: then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Saluages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of fiue hundred within six moneths after Captaine *Smiths* departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserued for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities, made no small vse of it; yea, euen the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Saluage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him, and so did diuers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserued: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I neuer heard of. This was that time, which still to this day we called the staruing time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleeued, what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of prouidence, industrie and gouernment, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed vs, we had neuer from *England* prouision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bils of loading sufficient was sent vs, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent vs, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they euer ouer-swayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly liued on what this good Countrie naturally afforded: yet had wee

beene euen in Paradice it selfe with these Gouernours, it wuold not haue beene much better with vs; yet there was amongst vs, who had they had the gouernment as Captaine *Smith* appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries. This in ten daies more, would haue supplanted vs all with death.

But God that would not this Countrie should be vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Sommers* with one hundred and fiftie people most happily preserued by the *Bermudas* to preserue vs: strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserued in a leaking ship, as at large you may reade in the insuing Historie of those Ilands.

The gouernment resigned to Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

When these two Noble Knights did see our miseries, being but strangers in that Countrie, and could vnderstand no more of the cause, but by coniecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing and excusing one another: They embarked vs with themselues, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning *Iames* towne, set saile for *England*, whereby you may see the euent of the gouernment of the former Commanders left to themselues; although they had liued there many yeeres as formerly hath beene spoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine *Smith* being gone.)

At noone they fell to the Ile of *Hogs*, and the next morning to *Mulbery point*, at what time they descried the Long-boat of the Lord *la Warre*, for God would not haue it so abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Gouernour of the Countrie, met them three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to to the abandoned *Iames* towne. *Out of the obseruations of* William Simmons *Doctor of Diuinitie.*

The gouernment deuolued to the Lord la Warre.

His Lordship arriued the ninth of Iune 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wayman*, Captaine *Houlcroft*, Capraine *Lawson* and diuers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came vp with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred in consultation for the good of the Colonie, in which secret counsell we will a little leaue them, that we may duly obserue the reuealed counsell of God. Hee that shall but turne vp his eie, and behold the spangled canopie of heauen, or shall but cast downe his eie, and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heauens heare the earth, and the earth Corne and Oile, and they relieue the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite prouidence: But hee that shall further obserue, how God inclineth all casuall euents to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lords infinite goodnesse: neuer had any people more iust cause, to cast themselues at the very foot-stoole of God, and to reuerence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie: for if God had not sent Sir *Thomas Gates* from the *Bermudas*, within foure daies they had almost beene famished: if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to saue the Fort from fiering at their shipping, for many were very importunate to haue burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour: if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would haue destroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanched into the vast Ocean, who would haue promised they should haue incountered the Fleet of the Lord *la Ware*, especially when they made for *New found land*, as they intended, a course contrarie to our Nauie approaching. If the Lord *la Ware* had not brought with him a yeeres prouision, what comfort would those poore soules haue receiued, to haue beene reduded to a second distruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would haue his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of *Canaan:* It was diuinely spoken of Heathen *Socrates*, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee ouer-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,
Nor sad things spirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they music all content of contrarietie,
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together;
They doe produce euen all this whatsoeuer.

The Lord Gouernour, after mature deliberation, deliuered some few words to the Companie, laying iust blame vpon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idlenesse, earnestly entreating them to amend those desperate follies, lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Iustice, and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw, to the shedding of his vitall bloud, to protect them from iniuries; heartning them with the relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers and conditions, to rule ouer them, allotting euery man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully: This Oration and direction being receiued with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a diuided multitude, by the unitie and authoritie of this gouernment to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respectiue dutie and seruice: euery man endeauoureth to outstrip other in diligence: the *French* preparing to plant the Vines, the *English* labouring in the Woods and grounds; euery man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie. Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the setled times of working, to effect all themselues, or as the Aduenturers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, vntil ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure, at both which times they are prouided of spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers vnto God, next they returne to their houses and receiue their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceiued that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding neuer knew what a daies labour meant, for though they cannot digge, vse the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the stayed spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the excuse of counsell, the operation and power of their best breeding and qualities. The houses which are built, are as warme and defensiue against wind and weather, as if they were tiled and

slated, being couered aboue with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Saluages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. And to leaue no discouragemect in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort; first, Sir *George Sommmers*, that worthy Admirall hath vndertaken a dangerous aduenture for the good of the Colonie.

Vpon the 15. of Iune, accompanied with Captaine *Samuel Argall* hee returned in two Pinnaces vnto the *Bermudas*, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths prouision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arriued, but Captaine *Argall* was forced backe againe to *Iames* towne, whom the Lord *De la Ware* not long after sent to the Riuer of *Patawomeke*, to trade for Corne; where finding an *English* boy, one *Henry Spilman*; a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserued from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had such good vsage of those kinde Saluages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *Iames* towne.

The other comfort is, that the Lord *la Ware* hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort *Henry*, the other Fort *Charles*, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, vpon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Riuilet they call *Southampton* Riuer; they stand in a wholsome aire, hauing plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolued, that all those that come out of *England*, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea, may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie, and Sir *Thomas Gates* hee sent for *England*. But to correct some iniuries of the *Paspaheghs* he sent Captaine *Pearcie*, Master *Stacy*, and fiftie or threescore shot, where the Saluages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate, the ferme of gouernment, the condition of our people, their daily inuocating of the Name of God being thus expressed;

why should the successe, by the rules of mortall iudgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich haruest of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of *Cæsar* in *France*, the designes of *Alexander*, the discoueries of *Hernando Cortes* in the West, and of *Emanuel* King of *Portugall* in the East, were not encouraged vpon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

But his Lordship being at the fales, the Saluages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men. Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for *England* the 28. of March; in the ship were about fiue and fiftie men, but ere we arriued at *Fyall*, fortie of vs were neare sicke to death, of the Scuruie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Gouernour being an *English-man*, kindly vsed vs, but small reliefe we could get, but Oranges, of which we had plenty, whereby within eight daies wee recouered, and all were well and strong by that they came into *England*. *Written by* William Box.

The Counsell of *Virginia* finding the smalnesse of that returne which they hoped should haue defrayed the charge of a new supply, entred into a deep consultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new Contribution, or in time to send for them home, and giue ouer the action, and therefore they adiured Sir *Thomas Gates* to deale plainly with them, who with a solemne and sacred oath replyed, That all things before reported were true, and that all men know that wee stand at the deuotion of politicke Princes and States, who for their proper vtilitie, deuise all courses to grind our Merchants, and by all pretences to confiscate their goods, and to draw from vs all manner of gaine by their inquisitiue inuentions, when in *Virginia*, a few yeers labour by planting and husbandry, will furnish all our defects with honour and securitie. *Out of a Declaration published by the Counsell*, 1610.

The gouernment left againe to Captaine George Piercie, *and the returne of the Lord* la Ware, *with his relation to the Councell.*

My Lords, now by accident returned from my charge at *Virginia*, contrary either to my owne desire, or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure me, in point of duie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced out of a willingnesse to satisfie euery man, to deliuer vnto your Lordships and the rest of this assemblie, in what state I haue liued euer since my arriuall to the Colonie, what hath beene the iust cause of my sudden departure, and on what tearmes I haue left the same, the rather because I perceiue, that since my comming into *England*, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Adventurers, that some of them seeke to withdraw their payments, by which the action must be supported, making this my returne colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and vniust protraction: which that you may the better vnderstand, I was welcomed to *Iames* towne by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weekes after I began to be distempered with other grieuous sicknesses which successiuely and generally assailed me, for besides a relapse into the former disease, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to greater weaknesse; the flux surprised mee, and kept me many daies, then the crampe assaulted my weake body with strong paines, and after the gout; all those drew me to that weaknesse, being vnable to stirre, brought vpon me the scuruie, which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was it in me an effect of weaknesse, which neuer left me, till I was ready to leaue the world.

In these extremities I resolued to consult with my friends, who finding nature spent in me, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily increasing, gaue me aduice to preferre a hopefull recouerie, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily haue ensued, had I liued but twentie daies longer in *Virginia*, wanting at that instant both food and Physicke, fit to remedie such extraordinary diseases; wherefore I shipped my selfe with Doctor *Bohun* and Captaine *Argall*, for *Mewis* in the West *Indies*, but being crossed with Southerly winds, I was forced to shape my course for

the Westerne Iles. where I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by the meanes of fresh dyet, especially Oranges and Limons, and vndoubted remedie for that disease: then I intended to haue returned backe againe to *Virginia*, but I was aduised not to hazard my selfe, before I had perfectly recouered my strength: so I came for *England*; in which accident, I doubt not but men of iudgement will imagine, there would more preiudice haue happened by my death there, than I hope can doe by my returne.

For the Colony I left it to the charge of Captaine *George Piercie*, a Gentleman of honour and resolution, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Dale*, whose Commission was likewise to bee determined vpon the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates*, according to the order of your Lordships appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the most in health, and prouided of at least ten moneths victuall, and the Countrie people tractable and friendly. What other defects they had, I found by Sir *Thomas Gates* at the Cowes; his Fleet was sufficiently furnished with supplies, but when it shall please God that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* shall arriue in *Virginia* with the extraordinarie supply of 100. Kine, and 200. Swine, besides store of other prouision, for the maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the action, as shall giue no man cause of distrust, that hath already aduentured, but incourage euery good minde to further so good a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our nation, and the comfort of all those that haue beene instruments in the furthering of it. *Out of the Lord* la Wares *discourses, published by Authoritie*, 1611.

The gouernment surrendered to Sir Thomas Dale, *who arriued in* Virginia *the tenth of May*, 1611. *out of Master* Hamors *Booke.*

Before the Lord *la Ware* arriued in *England*, the Councell and Companie had dispatched away Sir *Thomas Dale* with three ships, men and cattell, and all other prouision necessarie for a year: all which arriued well the tenth of

May 1611. where he found them growing againe to their former estate of penurie, being so improuident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with three moneths prouision; his first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne, at the two Forts at *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*, whereby the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder-Officers, to *Iames* towne he hastened, where most of the companie were at their daily and vsuall works, bowling in the streets; these hee imployed about necessarie workes, as falling of Timber, repayring their houses ready to fall on their heads, and prouiding pales, posts and railes, to impale his purposed new towne, which by reason of his ignorance, being but newly arriued, hee had not resolued where to seat; therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he spent some time in viewing the Riuer of *Nausamund*, in despight of the *Indians* then our enemies: then our owne Riuer to the Fales, where vpon a high land, inuironed with the maine Riuer, some twelue miles from the Fales, by *Arsahattock* he resolued to plant his new towne.

It was no small trouble to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of s ill a condition, as may well witnesse his seueritie and strick imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated; so as if his Lawes had not beene so strickly executed, I see not how the vtter subuersion of the Colonie should haue beene preuented, witnesse *Webbes* and *Prices* designe the first yeere, since that of *Abbots*, and others, more dangerous than the former. Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This *Ieffrey Abbots*, how euer this Author censures him; and the Gouernour executes him. I know he had long serued both in *Ireland* and *Netherlands*, here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I neuer saw in *Virginia* a more sufficient Souldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie: how ingratefully those deserts might bee rewarded, enuied or neglected, or his farre inferiors prefered to ouer-top him, I know not, but such occasions might moue a Saint, much more a man, to an vnaduised passionate impatience,

but how euer, it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences, that was neuer rewarded for his deserts. And euen this Summer *Cole* and *Kichins* plot with three more, bending their course to *Ocanahowan*, fiue daies iourney from vs, where they report are *Spaniards* inhabiting. There were cut off by the Saluages, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deserts: So as Sir *Thomas Dale* hath not beene so tyrannous nor seuere by the halfe, as there was occasion, and iust cause for it and though the manner was not vsuall, wee were rather to haue regard to those, whom we would haue terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders iustly condemned, for amongst them so hardned in euill, the feare of a cruell, painfull and vnusuall death more restraines them, than death it selfe. Thus much I haue proceeded of his endeuours, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Gates*, in preparing himselfe to proceed as he intended.

Now in *England* againe to second this noble Knight, the Counsell and Companie with all possible expedition prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates* six tall ships, with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine and other Cattell, with munition and all other manner of prouision that could be thought needfull; and about the first or second of August, 1611. arriued safely at *Iames* towne.

The gouernment returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

These worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming salutations, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended, which designe Sir *Thomas Gates* well approuing, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of. In the beginning of September, 1611. hee set saile, and arriued where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelue daies he had inuironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico*. The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne, a high commanding Watch-house, a Church, and Store-houses; which finished, hee began to thinke vpon conuenient houses for himselfe

and men, which with all possible speed hee could he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie.

This towne is situated vpon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts inuironed with the maine Riuer, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome Church, and the foundation of a better laid, to bee built of Bricke, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like: Vpon the verge of the Riuer there are fiue houses, wherein liue the honester sort of people, as Farmers in *England*, and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes securitie. About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from Riuer to Riuer, guarded with seuerall Commanders, with a good quantity of Corne-ground impailed, sufficiently secured to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres.

On the other side of the Riuer, for the securitie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the securitie of our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of *Hope in Faith*, and *Coxendale*, secured by fiue of our manner of Forts, which are but Palisodoes, called *Charitie* Fort, *Mount Malado*, a guest house for sicke people, a high seat and wholesome aire, *Elisabeth* Fort, and Fort *Patience:* And here hath Master *Whitaker* chosen his Parsonage, impailed a faire framed Parsonage, and one hundred acres called *Rocke hall*, but these are not halfe finished.

About Christmas following, in the same yeere 1611. in regard of the iniurie done vs by them of *Apamatuk*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, without the losse of any, except some few Saluages, tooke it and their Corne, being but fiue myles by land from *Henrico*, and considering how commodious it might be for vs, resolued to possesse and plant it, and at the instant called it new *Bermudas*, whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for euer, many miles of Champian and Woodland ground in seuerall hundreds, as the vpper and nether hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, West *Sherly* hundred, and *Digs* his hundred. In the nether hundred he first began to plant, for there is the most Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut ouer from Riuer to River, whereby we haue secured eight *English* miles in compasse; vpon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houses already built, besides

particular mens houses neere to the number of fiftie. *Rochdale*, by a crosse pale weinigh foure miles long, is also planted with houses along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell haue twentie miles circuit to graze in securely. The building of the Citie is referred till our haruest be in. which he intends to make a retreat against any forraigne enemy.

About fiftie miles from these is *Iames* towne, vpon a fertill *peninsula*, which although formerly scandaled for an vnhealthfull aire, wee finde it as healthfull as any other part of the Countrie; it hath two rowes of houses of framed timber, and some of them two stories, and a garret higher, three large Store-houses ioined togetherin length, and hee hath newly strongly impaled the towne. This Ile, and much ground about it, is much inhabited: To *Kecoughtan* we accounted it fortie miles, where they liue well with halfe that allowance the rest haue from the store, because of the extraordinarie quantitie of Fish, Fowle and Deere; as you may reade at large in the Discoueries of Captaine *Smith*. And thus I haue truly rlated vnto you the present estate of that small part of *Virginia* wee frequent and possesse.

Since there was a ship fraughted with prouision, and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and prouision, to stay twelue moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine *Argall*, which was sent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreshed his Companie, he was sent to the Riuer *Patawomeake*, to trade for Corne, the Saluages about vs hauing small quarter, but friends and foes as they found aduantage and opportunitie: But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine *Argall* hauing entred into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, an old friend of Captaine *Smiths*, and so to all our Nation, euen since hee discouered the Countrie: hard by him there was *Pocahontas*, whom Captaine *Smiths* Relations intituleth the Numparell of *Virginia*, and though she had beene many times a preseruer of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was neuer seene at *Iames* towne since his departure, being at *Patawomeke*, as it seemes, thinking her selfe vnknowne, was easily by her friend *Iapazaws* perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship, for Captaine *Argall* had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace

with her father; the Saluage for this Copper Kettle would haue done any thing, it seemed by the Relation: for though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, and that he offered to beat her for her importunitie, till she wept. But at last he told her, if *Pocahontas* would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent *Pocahontas* aboord, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. *Iapazaws* treading off on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded *Pocahontas* to the Gun-roome, faining to haue some conference with *Iapazaws*, which was onely that she should not perceiue hee was any way guiltie of her captiuitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and vs, before she euer should see *Powhatan*, whereat the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as *Pocahontas*, that vpon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and *Iapazaws* and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore, and shee to *Iames* towne. A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter *Pocahontas* he loued so dearly, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne.

This vnwelcome newes much troubled *Powhatan*, because hee loued both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after ere hee returned vs any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seuen of our men, with each of them an vnseruiceable Musket, and sent vs word, that when we would deliuer his daughter, hee would make vs satisfaction for all inivries done vs, and giue vs fiue hundred bushels Corne, and for euer be friends with vs. That he sent, were receiued in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well vsed, but we could not beleeue the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till he sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

This answer, it seemed much displeased him, for we heard no more from him for a long time after, when with Captaine *Argal*: ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie, Sir *Thomas Dale*, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went vp into his owne River, to his chiefe habitation.

with his daughter: with many scornfull brauado's they affronted vs, proudly demanding why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receiue the ransome for her that was promised, or to haue it perforce.— They nothing dismayed thereat, told vs, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were prouided for vs, but aduised vs, if wee loued our liues to retire; else they would vse vs as they had done Captaine *Ratcliffe:* We told them, we would presently haue a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among vs in the ship.

Being thus uniustly prouoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, where they demanded why wee burnt their houses, and wee, why they shot at vs: They replyed, it was some straggling Saluage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. Vpon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to *Powhatan*, whose answer, they told vs, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told vs, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet *Powhatans* men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought vs the next day, which was onely but to delay time: for the next day they came not. Then we went higher, to a house of *Powhatans*, called *Matchot*, where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared vs to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly vp and downe amongst vs, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to haue truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with vs, and defend their owne as they could. which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their prouision; yet we promised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with vs, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

Vpon this promise, two of the *Powhatans* sonnes came vnto vs to see their sister, at whose sight, seeing her well,

though they heard to the contrarie, they much reioiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for euer be friends with vs. And vpon this, the two brethren went aboord with vs, and we sent Master *Iohn Rolfe* and Master *Sparkes* to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the businesse; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of *Powhatan*, but they spoke with *Opechaugcanough*, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to *Powhatan*, all might be well. So it being Aprill, and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to *Iames* Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next haruest.

Long before this, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, an honest Gentleman, and of good behauiour, had beene in loue with *Pocahontas*, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his aduice and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approued: the brute of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent *Opachisco*, an old Vncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill: And euer since wee haue had friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himselfe, as all his subiects.

Besides this, by the meanes of *Powhatan*, we became in league with our next neighbours, the *Chicahamanias*, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselues. These people, so soone as they heard of our peace with *Powhatan*, sent two messengers with presents to Sir *Thomas Dale*, and offered him their seruice, excusing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King *Iames* his subiects, and relinquish the name of *Chickahamania*, to be called *Tassautessus*, as they call vs; and Sir *Thomas Dale* their Gouernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day he would come to visit them.

When the appointed day came, Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* with fiftie men well appointed, went to

Chickahamania, where wee found the people expecting our comming, they vsed vs kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace vpon these conditions.

First, they should for euer bee called Englishmen, *and bee true subiects to King* Iames *and his Deputies.*

Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish vs with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any.

Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen.

Fiftly, that euery fighting man, at the beginning of harvest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receiue so many Hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receiue the punishment themselues: for their deligence they should haue a red coat, a copper chaine, and King Iames *his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.*

All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderstand how strickly they were to obserue these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of *Powhatan*, or any enemie whatsoeuer, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets; but all this was rather for feare *Powhatan* and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subiection: the which to preuent, they did rather chuse to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant. And thus wee returned againe to *Iames* towne.

When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured iointly together, glad was he could slip from his labour, or slumber ouer his taske he cared not how, nay the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a weeke, as now for themselues they will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoeuer the haruest prospered, the generall store must maintaine them, so that wee reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure doe prouide for themselues. To preuent which, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath allotted euery man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of

Farmes, except the *Bermudas*, who are exempted, but for one moneths seruice in the yeere, which must neither bee in seed-time, nor haruest; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the store, but two barrels and a halfe of Corne (from all those Farmers, whereof the first was *William Spence*, an honest, valiant, and an industrious man, and hath continued from 1607. to this present) from those is expected such a contribution to the store, as wee shall neither want for our selues, nor to entertaine our supplies; for the rest, they are to worke eleuen moneths for the store, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get prouison to keepe them for twelue, except two bushels of Corne they haue out of the store; if those can liue so, why should any ferre staruing, and it were much better to denie them passage, that would not ere they come, bee content to ingage themselues to those conditions: for onely from the slothfull and idle drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, *Virginia* innocently hath vndergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here that cannot well brooke labour, except they will vndergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skuruie, but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his relations that discouered the Countrie first.

The gouernment left to Sir Thomas Dale *vpon Sir* Thomas Gates *returne for* England.

Sir *Thomas Dale* vnderstanding there was a plantation of *Frenchmen* in the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of 45. sent Captaine *Argall* to Port *Royall* and *Sancta Crux*, where finding the *Frenchmen* abroad dispersed in the Woods, surprized their Ship and Pinnace, which was but newly come from *France*, wherein was much good apparell, and other prouision, which he brought to *Iames* towne but the men escaped, and liued among the Saluages of those Countries.

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale*, before my returne to *England*, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to giue mee leaue to visit *Powhatan* and his Court: being prouided, I had *Thomas Saluage* with mee,

for my Interpreter, with him and two Saluages for guides, I went from the *Bermuda* in the morning, and came to *Matchot* the next night, where the King lay vpon the Riuer of *Pamaruke;* his entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gaue you leaue, being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres I haue not seene you, nor heard of my owne man *Namoutack* I sent to *England*, though many ships since haue beene returned thence: Hauing done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* at his first arriuall, which was a token betwixt them when euer hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home.

It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word, and gaue his Page order to giue it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I neuer heard of it, yet I replyed I did know there was such an order, but that was when vpon a sudden he should haue occasion to send an *Englishman* without an *Indian* Guide: but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted vs to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men, that alwaies attend his person. The first thing he de did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* did, and his daughter, and vnknowne sonne, and how they liued, loued and fixed; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not liue againe with him: whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was priuate, and I was to deliuer it onely to himselfe and *Papaschicher*, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on.

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath sent you two pieces of Copper, fiue strings of white and blue Beads, fiue woodden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Kniues, and that when you would send for it, hee would giue you a Grind-stone: all this pleased him: But then I told him his brother *Dale*, hearing of the fame of his youngest

daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me vnto him, in testimonie of his loue, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for euer to dwell in his Countrie, he conceiued there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an vnited vnion.

I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much grauitie he thus replyed.

I gladly accept your salute of loue and peace, which while I liue, I shall exactly keepe, his pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had receiued; but for my daughter, I haue sold her within this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke, three daies iournie from me. I replyed, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because she was but twelue yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should haue for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. His answer was, he loued his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children he delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly liue, which she liuing with vs he could not do, hauing resolued vpon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst vs; therefore desired me to vrge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no former assurance of his friendship, than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient, when she dies, he shall haue another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereaue me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall neuer be more, (I which haue power to performe it, haue said it) although I should haue iust cause, for I am now old, and would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepie, wee will thus end. So

commanding vs victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit vs, and kindly conducted vs to the best cheere hee had. *William Parker.*

While I here remained, by chance came an *Englishman*, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe at Fort *Henry*, growne so like, both in complextion and habit like a Saluage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre vrged *Powhatan*, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You haue one of my daughters, and I am content, but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must haue him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs haue him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you, thanke your selues: I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a reuenge, and his brother might haue iust cause to suspect him. So in passion he left me till supper, and then gaue me such as hee had with a cheerfull countenance: About midnight hee awaked vs, and promised in the morning my returne with *Parker;* but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shauing-knife, a Frowe, a Grindstone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me write in a table-booke he had; how euer he got it, it was a faire one I desired hee would giue it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, hauing furnished vs well with prouision, he gaue each of vs a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter: And so we returned to *Iames* towne. *Written by Master* Ralph Hamor *and* Iohn Rolph.

I haue read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir *Thomas Dale*, another by Master *Whitaker*, and a third by Master *Iohn Rolfe;* how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee neuer had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions violent passions he endured for her loue, as he deeply protested, was wonderfull, and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized, but either the coldnesse of the aduenturers, or the bad

vsage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight to write thus. Oh why should so many Princes and Nobleman ingage themselues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to perseuere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant: howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things haue animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne vnto; leauing all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I haue in charge reuiued, which would quickly happen if I should leaue them; so few I haue with me fit to command or manage the businesse: Master *Whitaker* their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselues at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures: be there not any among them of *Moses* his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to his talent. *From Virginia, Iune* 18. 1614.

The businesse being brought to this perfection, Captaine *Argall* returned for *England*, in the latter end of *Iune*, 1614. ariuing in *England*, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the assistance of Sir *Thomas Gates*, that also had returned from *Virginia* but the March before; it was presently concluded, that to supply this good successe with all expedition, the standing Lottery should be drawne with all diligent conueniency, and that posterity may remember vpon occasion to vse the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amisse to remember thus much.

The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery published by the Counsell.

It is apparent to the world, by how many former Proclamations, we manifested our intents, to haue drawne out the great standing Lottery long before this, which not falling out as we desired, and others expected, whose monies are aduentured therein, we thought goed therefore for the auoiding all vniust and sinister constructions, to resolue the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three speciall points for their better satisfaction.

But ere I goe farther, let vs remember there was a running Lottery, vsed a long time in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard, where this stood, that brought into the Treasury good summes of money dayly, though the Lot was but small.

Now for the points, the first is, for as much as the Aduenturers came in so slackly for the yeere past, without preiudice to the generalitie, in losing the blankes and prises, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, haue recommended their Letsenters to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in *England*, which we hope by aiding in their voluntary Aduenturers, will sufficiently supply vs.

The second for satisfaction to all honest well affected minds, is, that though this expectation answer not our hopes, yet we haue not failed in our Christian care, the good of that Colony, to whom we haue lately sent two sundry supplies, and were they but now supplied with more hands, wee should soone resolue the diuision of the Country by by Lot, and so lessen the generall charge.

The third is our constant resolution, that seeing our credits are so farre ingaged to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend shall be without delay, the 26. of Iune next, desiring all such as haue vndertaken with bookes to solicit their friends, that they will not with-hold their moneis till the last moneth be expired, lest we be vnwillingly forced to proportion a lesse value and number of our Blankes and Prises which hereafter followeth.

WELCOMES.

	Crownes.
To him that first shall be drawne out with a blanke,	100
To the second, - - - - - - -	50
To the third, - - - - - - - -	25
To him that euery day during the drawing of this Lottery, shall be first drawne out with a blanke,	10

PRIZES.

		Crownes.
1	Great Prize of - - - - - -	4500
2	Great Prizes, each of - - - -	2000
4	Great Prizes, each of - - - - -	1000
6	Great Prizes, each of - - - -	500
10	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	300
20	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	200
100	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	100
200	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	50
400	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	20
1000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	10
1000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	8
1000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	6
4000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	4
1000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	3
1000	Prizes, each of - - - - - -	2

REWARDS.

	Crownes.
To him that shall be last drawne out with a blanke,	25
To him that putteth in the greatest Lot, vnder one name, - - - - - - - -	400
To him that putteth in the second greatest number,	300
To him that putteth in the third greatest number,	200
To him that putteth in the fourth greatest number,	100

If diuers be of equall number, their rewards are to be diuided proportionally.

ADDITION OF NEW REWARDS.

	Crownes.
The blanke that shall bee drawne out next before the great Prize shall haue - - - - -	25

	Crownes.
The blanke that shall be drawne out next after the said great Prize - - - - - -	25
The blanks that shall be drawne out immediately before the two next great Prizes, shall haue each of them - - - - - - - - -	20
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue	20
The seuerall blankes next before the foure great Prizes, each shall haue - - - - - - -	15
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue	15
The seuerall blankes next before the six great Psizes, each shall haue - - - - - - - -	10
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue	10

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards, shall be payed in ready Mony, Plate, or other goods reasonably rated; if any dislike of the plate or goods, he shall haue mony, abating only the tenth part, except in small prizes of ten Crownes or vnder.

The mony for the Aduenturers is to be paid to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight and Treasurer for *Virginia*, or such Officers as he shall appoint in City or Country, vnder the common seale of the company for the receit thereof.

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where euer they dwell, shall of the Treasurer haue present pay, and whosoeuer vnder one name or poesie payeth three pound in ready money, shall receiue six shillings and eight pence, or a siluer spoone of that value at his choice.

About this time it chanced a Spanish ship, beat too and againe before point *Comfort*, and at last sent a shore their boat, as desirous of a Pilot. Captaine *Iames Davis* the gouernor, immediatly gaue them one, but he was no sooner in the boat, but away they went with him, leauing three of their companions behind them; this sudden accident occasioned some distrust, and a strict examination of those three thus left, yet with as good vsage as our estate could afford them. They only confessed hauing lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts, and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they liued till one of them was found to be an Englishman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for *England* in [illegible] and hauing here induced some male-contents, to b[illegible]leeue his prujects, to run away with

a small barke, which was apprehended, some executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curtesie, directly confessed that two or three Spanish ships was at Sea, purposely to discouer the estate of the Colony, but thier Commission was not to be opened till they arriued in the Bay, so that of any thing more he was vtterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards at last dyed, the other was sent for *England*, but this reprieued, till Sir *Thomas Dale* hanged at Sea in his voyage homeward; the English Pilot they caried for Spaine, whom after a long time imprisonment, with much sute was returned for *England*.

Whilst those things were effecting, Sir *Thomas Dale*, hauing setled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Master *George Yearly*, to be Deputy-Gouernour in his absence, and so returned for *England*, ecompanied with *Pocahontas* the Kings Daughter, and Master *Rolfe* her husband, and ariued at *Plimmoth* the 12. of *June* 1616.

The gouernment left to Captaine Yearly.

Now a little to commentary vpon all these proceedings, let me leaue but this as a caueat by the way, if the alteration of gouernment hath subuerted great Empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a commonweale? The multiplicity of Gouernors is a great damage to any State, but vncertaine daily changes are burdensome, because their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilst the sunne doth shine, how euer it shall fare with the generality

This deare bought Land with so much bloud and cost, hath onely made some few rich, and all the rest losers. But it was intended at the first, the first vndertakers should be first preferred and rewarded; and the first aduenturers satisfied, and they of all the rest are the most neglected; and those that neuer aduentured a groat, neuer see the Country, nor euer did any seruice for it, imploied in their places, adorned with their deserts, and inriched with their ruines; and when they are fed fat, then in commeth others so leane as they were, who through their omnipotency doe as much. Thus what one Officer doth, another vndoth, only ayming at their owne ends, thinking all the world derides his dignity, cannot

fill his Coffers being in authority with any thing. Euery man hath his minde free, but he can neuer be a true member to that estate, that to enrich himselfe beggers all the Countrie. Which bad course, there are many yet in this noble plantation, whose true honour and worth as much scornes it, as the others loues it: for the Nobilitie and Gentrie, there is scarce any of them expects any thing but the prosperitie of the action: and therefore are some Merchants and others, I am confidently perswaded, doe take more care and paines, nay, and at their continuall great charge, than they could be hired to for the loue of money, so honestly regarding the generall good of this great worke, they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or extort vpon the common souldier a penny. But to the purpose, and to follow the Historie.

Mr. *George Yearly* now inuested Deputie Gouernour by Sr. *Thomas Dale*, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could deuise for a present gaine, so that euery man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir *Thomas Dale* had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that euery man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent vs, came so vnfurnished, as quickly eased vs of our superfluitie. To releeue their necessities, he sent to the *Chickahamanias* for the tribute Corne Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that he drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to *Chickahamania*: the people in some places vsed him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was Sir *Thomas Dales* man: and they had paid his Master according to condition, but to giue any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master: after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that *Dale* had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours. *Yearly* seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at *Ozinies*, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards *Mamunkunt*, they put themselues in the same order as they see vs, lead by their Captaine *Kissanacomen*, Gouernour of *Ozinies*, and so marched close along by vs, each as threatening

other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against *Mamanahunt*, and they passed the Riuer. The next day we followed them: there are few places in *Virginia* had then more plaine good ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Saluages without feare standing in troupes amongst vs, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to dant vs: what other practises they had I know not; but to preuent the worst, our Captaine caused vs all to make ready, and vpon the word, to let flie amongst them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners: all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gaue the word and wee presently discharged, where twelue lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelue more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant *Boothe*, the other by *Robert* a *Polonian;* Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now *Opechankanough* had agreed with our Captaine for the subiecting of those people, that neither hee nor *Powhatan* could euer bring to their obedience, and that he should make no peace with them without his aduice: in our returne by *Ozinies* with our prisoners we met *Opechankanough*, who with much adoe, fained with what paines he had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of *Ozinies*, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had; here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine *Henry Spilman* our Interpreter, a Gentlemen had liued long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Saluages, and done much good seruice, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marcht towards *Iames* towne, we had three Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage, the one of them being more willing to be at *Iames* towne with the newes than the other, was ouerset, and eleuen men cast away with the Boat, Corne and all their prouision; notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Saluages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with *Opechankanough*, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie, that diuers

saluages of other Nations, daily frequented vs with what prouisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for vs themselues. Captaine *Yearly* had a Saluage or two so well trained vp to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the *English*, and one he kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were diuers others had Saluages in like manner for their men. Thus we liued together, as if we had beene one people, all the time Captaine *Yearly* staied with vs, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among ourselues, that vpon the arriuall of Captaine *Argall*, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Gouernour, Captaine *Yearly* returned for *England* in the yeere 1617. *From the writings of Captaine* Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, *Sergeant* Boothe, Edward Gurganey.

During this time, the Lady *Rebecca*, alias *Pocahantus*, daughter to *Powhatan*, by the diligent care of Master *Iohn Rolfe* her husband and his friends, as taught to speake such *English* as might well bee vnderstood, well iustructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our *English* manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loued most dearely and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were diuers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arriued at London, Captaine *Smith* to deserue her former couretesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract wherof followeth.

To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene Anne *of Great Brittaine.*

Most admired Queene,

The loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maiestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is.

That some ten yeeres agoe being in *Virginia*, and taken prisoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nantaquaus*, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister *Pocahontas*, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine, and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Iames* towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady *Pocahontas*, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed: were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, hauing but eighteene with mee, the dark night could not affright her from comming through the irksome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. *Iames* towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolued, *Virginia* might haue line as it was at our first arriuall to

this day. Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after she her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer. the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded. and at last reiecting her barbarous condition, was maried to an *English* Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in *England*; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first *Virginian* euer spake *English*, or had a childe in mariage by an *Englishman*, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy a Princes vnderstanding.

Thus most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie. what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life, and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen. it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the state, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes, and authoritie, hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as myselfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as myselfe; and the rather being of so great a spirit, howeuer her stature: if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes: her present loue to vs and Christianitie. might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine. for being so kinde to your seruants and subiects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that. your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set saile for *New-England*, I could not stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and shee well deserued; but hearing shee was at *Branford* with diuers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest

salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting myself to haue writ shee could speake *English*. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise *Powhatan* what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did till vs alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to *Plimoth;* yet *Powhatan* did command *Vttamatomakkin* to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

This Saluage, one of *Powhatans* Councell, being amongst them held an vnderstanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriuing at *Plimoth*, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to *London*, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me *Powhatan* did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly, You gaue *Powhatan* a white Dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himselfe, but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

The smal time I staid in *London*, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great

hand in her conuersion, and they haue seene many *English* Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned and behauioured, and as since I haue heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Maiestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady *De la Warre*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would haue deserued, had she liued to arriue in *Virginia*.

The gouernment deuolued to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

The Treasurer, Councell and Cempanie, hauing well furnished Captaine *Samuel Argall*, the Lady *Pocahontas* alias *Rebecca*, her husband and others, in the good called the *George*, it pleased God at *Grauesend* to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders, to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe *Thomas Rolfe* therefore was left at *Plimoth* with Sir *Lewis Stukly*, that desired the keeping of it. Captaine *Hamar* his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at *Plimoth*. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arriued at *Iames* towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine *Yearley* and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an *Indian*. In *Iames* towne he found but fiue or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Storehouse they vsed for the Church, the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco, the Saluages as frequent in their houses as themselues, whereby, they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession, the Colonie dispersed all about, planting *Tobacco*. Captaine *Argall* not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble us; we were constrained euery yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie, yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir *Thomas Dale*, was ready to fall, and

the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought vs neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieue the whole Colonie: For from the tenants wee seldome had aboue foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men, women and Children.

This yeere hauing planted our fields, came a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit, the Magazine that came in the *George*, being fiue moneths in her passage, proued very dadly conditioned, but ere she arriued, we had gathered and made vp our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply vs, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord *la Ware*. They set saile in Aprill, and tooke their course by the westerne Iles, where the Gouernour of the Ile of Saint *Michael* receiued the Lord *la Ware*, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could giue him.—Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke, thirtie died, one of which number was that most honourable Lord Gouernour the Lord *la Ware*, whose most noble and generous disposition, is well knowne to this great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good: Yet this tender state of *Virginia* was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasures as was fit for such a personage, with so braue and great attendance: for some small number of aduenturous Gentlemen to make discoueries, and lie in Garrison, ready vpon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Saluages, nothing were more requisite, but to haue more to wait and play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious laborours was not so necessarie: for in *Virginia*, a plaine Souldier that can vse a Pick-axe and spade, is better than fiue Knights although they

were Knights that could breake a Lance; for men of great place not inured to those incounters; when they finde things not sutable, growmany times so discontented, they forget themselues, and of become so carelesse, that a discontented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie. At last they stood in for the coast of *New-England*, where they met a small Frenchman, rich of Beauers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie, yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and so well refreshed themselues there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, hauing beene at Sea sixteene weekes, got to *Virginia*, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundandance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wildernesse could affoord such wonderfull abundance of plentie. In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little prouision, and the ship called the *Treasurer* came in againe not long after with fortie passengers; the Lord *la Wares* ship lying in *Virginia* three moneths, wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilst they tarried there: this ship brought vs aduice that great multitudes were preparing in *England* to be sent, and relied much vpon that victuall they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine called a Councell, and and writ to the Councell here in *England* the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not prouision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs on worke, hauing as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen, but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most shaken, and the rest spoiled with the Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine at *Kekoughtan*, desired leaue to returne to his wife at *Charles* hundred, hee went to *Iames* towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proued that he intended to goe

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trade with the *Indians* of *Chickahamania*, where making shew of a great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Saluages perceiuing, partly for their trucke, partly for reuenge of some friends they pretented should haue beene slaine by Captaine *Yearly*, one of them with an English peece shot *Kil'ingbeck* dead, the other Saluages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had: But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie: for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the *Indian* treasure thereabout, and fled into the woods, as other *Indians* related. On Sunday following, one *Farfax* that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitiue Saluages, and entred the house, and slew a boy and three children, and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered. Of this disasaster the Captaine sent to *Opechankanough* for satisfaction, but excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it, at the same time the Saluages that were robbed were complaining to *Opechankanough*, and much feared the English would bee reuenged on them, so that *Opschankanough* sent to Captaine *Argall*, to assure him the peace should neuer be broken by him, desiring that he would not reuenge the iniurie of those fugitiues vpon the innocent people of that towne, which towne he should haue, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession giuen of it, and promised so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he neuer performed it. *Samuel Argall Iohn Rolfe.*

A relation from Master Iohn Rolfe, *Iune* 15. 1618.

Concerning the tate of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we haue sufficient to content our selues, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in *England*. *Powhatan* died this last Aprill, yet the *Indians*

continue in peace. *Itopatin* his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and *Opechankanough* haue confirmed our former league. On the eleuenth of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about, that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaues of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about *Iames* towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Thus in peace euery man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some priuate differences happened betwixt Captaine *Bruster* and Captaine *Argall*, and Captaine *Argall* and the Companie here in *England*; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any vse, and therefore vnfit to be remembred. In December one Captaine *Stallings*, an old planter in those parts, being imployed by them of the West countrie for a fishing voyage, in *New-England*, fell foule of a Frenchman whom hee tooke, leauing his owne ship to returne for *England*, himselfe with a small companie remained in the French barke, some small time after vpon the coast, and thence returned to winter in *Virginia*.

The gouernment surrendered to Sir George Yearly.

For to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arriued a little Pinnace priuatly from *England* about Easter for Captaine *Argall*, who taking order for his affaires, within foure or fiue daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine *Nathaniell Powell*. On the eighteenth of *Aprill*, which was but ten or twelue daies after, arriued Sir *George Yearley*, by whom we vnderstood Sir *Edwin Sands* was chosen Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent vs, which did rauish vs so much with ioy and content, we thought our selues now fully satisfied, for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine *Stallings*, the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a priuate quarrell.

Sir *George Yearly* to beginne his gouernment, added to be of his councell, Captaine *Francis West*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*, Master *Iohn Pory*, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, and Master *William Wickam*, and Master *Samuel Macocke*, and propounded to haue a generall assembly with all expedition.— Vpon the twelfth of this Moneth, came in a Pinnace of Captaine *Bargraues*, and on the seuenteenth Captaine *Lownes*, and one Master *Eaans*, who intended to plant themselues at *Waraskoyack*, but now *Opheehankanough* will not come at vs, that causes vs suspect his former promises.

In May came in the *Margaret* of *Bristoll*, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health, and also many deuout gifts, and we were much troubled in examining some scandalous letters sent into *England*, to disgrace this Country with barrennesse, to discourage the aduenturers, and so bring it and vs to ruine and confusion; notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco, and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barrels, we haue ordinarily foure or fiue, but of new ground six, seuen, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may prouide Corne for fiue, and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco; they say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixteene bushels an aker, and we haue reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to vse them, and traine vp our cattell to draw them, which though we indeuour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobaco, and yet of that many are so couetous to haue much, they make little good; besides there are so many so fisticating Tobaco-mungers in *England*, were it neuer so bad, they would sell it for *Vermas*, and the trash that remmineth should be *Virginia*, such deuilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother *England* her selfe: could they or durst they as freely defame her.

The 25. of *Iune* came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from vs cleerely all feare of famine; then our gouernour and councell caused Burgesses

to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated thought expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine *Ward* was sent to *Monahigan* in new *England*, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but small purpose, for they wanted Salt: the *George* also was sent to *New-found-land* with the Cape Merchant, there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seuen weekes. About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold vs twenty Negars, and *Iapazous* King of *Patawomeck*, came to *Iames* towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his Riuer, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one *Poule*, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very iealous the Saluages would surprze vs. The Gouernours haue bounded foure Corporations: which is the Companies, the Vniuersity, the Gouernours and Gleabe land: Ensigne *Wil. Spencer*, and *Thomas Barret* a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, we are the first farmers that went forth, and haue chosen places to their content, so that now knowing their owne land, they striue who should exceed in building and planting. The fourth of Nouember the *Bona nova* came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master *Dirmer* sent out by some of *Plimoth* for *New-England*, arriued in a Barke of fiue tunnes, and returned the next Spring; notwithstanding the ill rumours of the vnwholsomnesse of *Iames* towne, the new commers that were planted at old *Paspaheghe*, little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country. In December Captaine *Ward* returned from *Patawomeck* the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce. Captaine *Woddliffe* of *Bristol* came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health, and we had two particular Gouernours sent vs, vnder the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to haue charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies: Now you are to vnderstand, that because there haue beene many complaints against the Gouernours, Captaines, and Officers in *Virginia*, for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set ouer, from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in *England* a thing most intollerable, or that the tenants or lawfull seruants should be put from their places, or abridged their Couenants,

was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councell in *England* did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending those abuses, and appointed a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and prouided to serue and attend the Gouernour during the time of his gouernment, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leaue to his Successor in like manner, fifty to the Deputy-Gouernour of the College land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary fiue and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leaue to their successors, and likewise to euery particular Officer such a competency, as he might liue well in his Office, without oppressing any vnder their charge, which good law I pray God it be welll obserued, and then we may truly say in *Virginia*, we are the most happy people in the world. *By me* Iohn Rolfe.

There went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ships and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for Gouernours land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wiues ninety, seruants for publike seruice fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring vp thirty of the infidels children, the rest were sent to priuate Plantations.

Two persons vnknowne haue giuen faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the College, the other at the Church of Mistris *Mary Robinson*, who towards the foundation gaue two hundred pound. And another vnknowne person sent to the Treasurer fiue hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing vp of the saluage children in Christianity. Master *Nicholas Farrar* deceased, hath by his Will giuen three hundred pounds to the College, to be paid when there shall be ten young Saluages placed in it, in the meane time foure and twenty pound yeerely to be distributed vnto three discreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring vp three wilde young infidels in some good course of life, also there were granted eleuen Patents, vpon condition to transport people and cattle to increase the Plantations.

A desperat Sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of *Dominica* going to *Virginia*, by Captaine *Anthony Chester.*

Having taken our iorney towards *Virginia* in the beginning of February, a ship called the *Margaret* and *Iohn*, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran vs quickly out of sight: This made vs keepe our course for *Mettulina*, and the next day passing *Dominica*, we came to an anchor at *Guardalupo*, to in fresh water.—Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe came aboord vs; they told vs a Spanish man of Warre but seuen daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull. At *Meuis* we intended to refresh our selues, hauing beene eleuen weeks pestered in this vnwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the *Hollanders* colours, but necessitie forcing vs on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to hale them: but seeing they were *Spaniards*, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after vs, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times ouer-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers prouisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should haue beene. But perceiuing what they were, we fitted our selues the best we could to preuent a mischiefe, seeing them warp themselues to windward, we thought it not good to be boorded on both sides at an ancher, we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our starboord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their vnkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculuering, that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leaue vs and her Admirall together. Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his *Holland* flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so haled vs.

We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound, relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of *Spaines* Subiects, nor any. She commanded vs amaine for the King of *Spaine*, we replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were, and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none. They commanded vs aboord to shew our Commission, which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to vs willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at vs, with a volley of small shot, which caused vs to leaue the decks; then with many ill words they laid vs aboord, which caused vs to raise our maine saile, and giue the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid them in such sort, they quickly retired. The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene inuironed with fire and smoke, vntill they discoue red the waste of our ship naked, where they brauely boorded vs loofe for loofe, hasting with pikes and swords to enter, but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed vnder our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose vnder the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe, many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

In the end they were violently repulsed, vntill they were reinforced to charge againe by their commands, who standing vpon their honors, thought it a great indignity to be so affronted, which caused a second charge, and that answered with a second beating backe: whereat the Captaine grew inraged, and constrained them to come on againe afresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth Mountaines, had not taught vs to tosse our Pikes with prosperous euents, and powred out a volley of small shot amongst them whereby that valiant Commander was slaine, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe likewise on the top of the hatchets. This we saw with our eies, and reioyced with it at our hearts, so that we might perceiue good successe comming on, our Captaine presently tooke aduantage of their discomfiture, though with much comiseration of that resolute

Captaine, and not onely plied them againe with our Ordnance, but had more shot vnder the Pikes, which was bestowed to good purpose, and amazed our enemies with the suddennesse.

Amongst the rest, one *Lucas*, our Carpenters Mate, must not be forgotten, who perceiuing away how to annoy them; As they were thus puzled and in a confusion, drew out a Minion vnder the halfe decke, and there bent it vpon them in such a manner, that when it was fired, the cases of stones and peeces of Iron fell vpon them so thick, as cleared the decke, and slew many, and in short time we saw few assailants, but such as crept from place to place couertly from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done something worthy of commendations: yet either wanting men, or being ouertaken with the vnlooked for volour of our men, they now began to shrinke, and giue vs leaue to be wanton with our aduantage. Yet we could onely vse but foure peece of Ordnances, but they serued the turne as well as all the rest: for she was shot so oft betweene wind and water, we saw they were willing to leaue vs, but by reason she was fast in the latch of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, she could not cleare her selfe as she wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was slaine by freeing vs. Hauing beene aboord vs two houres and an halfe, seeing her selfe cleere, all the shot wee had plaied on both sides, which lasted till we were out of shot, then we discouered the Vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply vs with their Ordnances, and put vs in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we seperated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ship with the rest, and were so well incouraged wee waifed them amaine. The *Admirall* stood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon shot, where we lay battering vs till shee receiued another paiment from a fa-miculuering, which made her beare with the shore for smooth water to mend her leakes. The next morning they both came vp againe with vs, as if they had determined to deuour vs at once, but it seemed it was but a brauado, though they forsooke not our quarter for a time within Musket shot; yet all the night onely they kept vs company, but made not a shot. During which time we had leasure to prouide vs better than before: but God bethanked they made onely but a

shew of another assault, ere suddenly the Vice-admirall fell a starne, and the other lay shaking in the wind, and so they both left vs. The fight continued six houres, and was the more vnwelcome, because we were so ill prouided, and had no intent to fight, nor giue occasion to disturbe them. As for the losse of men, if Religion had not taught vs what by the prouidence of God is brought to passe, yet daily experience might informe vs, of the dangers of wars, and perils at sea, by stormes tempests, shipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, crosse winds, long voiages, vnknowne shoores, borbarous Nations, and an hundred inconueniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable, nor mens coniectures apprehensiue. We lost Doctor *Bohun*, a worthy valiant Gentlemen, (a long time brought vp amongst the most learned Surgeons, and Physitions in *Netherlands* and this his second iourney to *Virginia:)* and seuen slaine out right, two died shortly of their wounds; sixteene was shot, whose limbs God be thanked was recouered without maime, and now setled in *Virginia:* how many they lost we know not, but we saw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppers runne with bloud, they were about three hundred tunnes apeece, each sixteene or twentie Brasse-peeces. Captaine *Chester*, who in this fight had behaued himselfe like a most vigilant, resolute, and a couragious souldier, as also our honest and valiant master, did still so comfort and incourage vs by all the meanes they could, at last to all our great contents we arriued in *Virginia*, and from thence returned safely to *England*.

The Names of the Adventurers for Virginia, *Alphabetically set downe, according to a printed Booke, set out by the Treasurer and Councell in this present yeere,* 1620.

A.

Sir William Aliffe.
Sir Roger Aston.
Sir Anthony Ashley.
Sir Iohn Akland.
Sir Anthonie Aucher.
Sir Robert Askwith.
Doctor Francis Anthony.
Charles Anthony.
Edward Allen.
Edmund Allen, Esquire.
Iohn Allen.
Thomas Allen.
William Atkinson, Esquire.
Richard Ashcroft.
Nicholas Andrews.
Iohn Andrews the elder.
Iohn Andrews the younger.
Iames Ascough.
Giles Allington.
Morris Abbot.
Ambrose Asten.
Iames Askew.
Anthony Abdey.
Iohn Arundell, Esquire.

B.

Edward, Earle of Bedford.
Iames, Lord Bishop of Bathe and Wells.
Sir Francis Barrington.
Sir Morice Barkley.
Sir Iohn Benet.
Sir Thomas Beamont.
Sir Amias Bamfield.
Sir Iohn Bourcher.
Sir Edmund Bowyer.
Sir Thomas Bludder.
Sir George Bolles.
Sir Iohn Bingley.
Sir Thomas Button.
Sir Henry Beddingfield.
Companie of Barbers-Surgeons.
Companie of Bakers.
Richard Banister.
Iohn Bancks.
Miles Bancks.
Thomas Barber.
William Bonham.
Iames Bryerley.
William Barners.
Anthony Barners, Esquire.
William Brewster.
Richard Brooke.
Hugh Brooker, Esquire.
Ambrose Brewsey.
Iohn Brooke.
Matthew Bromridge.
Christopher Brooke, Esquire.
Martin Bond.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Dauid Borne.
Edward Barnes.
Iohn Badger.
Edmund Branduell.
Robert Bowyer, Esquire.
Robert Bateman.
Thomas Britton.

Nicholas Benson.
Edward Bishop.
Peter Burgoney.
Thomas Burgoney.
Robert Burgoney.
Christopher Baron.
Peter Benson.
Iohn Baker.
Iohn Bustoridge.
Francis Burley.
William Browne.
Robert Barker.
Samuel Barnham.
Edward Barkley.
William Bennet.
Captaine Edward Brewster.
Thomas Brocket.
Iohn Bullock.
George Bache.
Thomas Bayly.
William Barkley.
George Butler.
Timothie Bathurst.
George Burton.
Thomas Bret.
Captaine Iohn Brough.
Thomas Baker.
Iohn Blunt.
Thomas Bayly.
Richard and Edward Blunt.
Mineon Burrell.
Richard Blackmore.
William Beck.
Beniamind Brand.
Iohn Busbridge.
William Burrell.
William Barret.
Francis Baldwin.
Edward Barber.
Humphrey Basse.
Robert Bell.
Matthew Bromrick.
Iohn Beaumont,
George Barkley.
Peter Bartle.
Thomas Bretton.
Iohn Blount.
Arthur Bromfield, Esquire.
William Berbloke.
Charles Beck.

C.

George, Lord Archbishop of Canterburie.
William Lord Cranborne, now Earle of Salisburie.
William, Lord Compton, now Earle of North-hampton.
William, Lord Cauendish, now Earle of Deuonshire.
Richard, Earle of Clanricard.
Sir William Cauendish now Lord Cauendish.
Gray, Lord Chandos.
Sir Henry Cary.
Sir George Caluert,
Sir Lionell Cranfield.
Sir Edward Cecill.
Sir Robert Cotten.
Sir Oliuer Cromwell.
Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Walter Cope.
Sir Edward Carr.
Sir Thomas Conisbie.
Sir George Cary.
Sir Edward Conwey.
Sir Walter Chute.
Sir Edwarp Culpeper.
Sir Henry Cary, Captaine
Sir William Crauen.
Sir Walter Couert.
Sir George Coppin.
Sir George Chute.

Sir Thomas Couentry.
Sir Iohn Coutts.
Lady Cary.
Company of Cloth-workers.
Citie of Chicester.
Robert Chamberlaine.
Richard Chamberlaine.
Francis Couill.
William Coyse, Esquire.
Abraham Chamberlaine.
Thomas Carpenter.
Anthony Crew.
Richard Cox.
William Crosley.
Iames Chatfield.
Richard Caswell.
Iohn Cornelis.
Randall Carter.
Executors of Randall Carter.
William Canning.
Edward Carue, Esquire.
Thomas Cannon, Esquire.
Richard Champion.
Rawley Crashaw.
Henry Collins.
Henry Cromwell.
Iohn Cooper.
Richard Cooper.
Iohn Casson.
Thomas Colthurst.
Allen Cotten.
Edward Cage.
Abraham Cartwrigt.
Robert Coppin.
Thomas Conock.
Iohn Clapham.
Thomas Church.
William Carpenter.
Laurence Campe.
Iames Cambell.
Christopher Cletheroe.
Matthew Cooper.
Gearge Chamber.
Captaine Iohn Cooke.
Captaine Thomas Conwey, Esquire.
Edward Culpeper, Esquire.
Master William Crashaw.
Abraham Colmer.
Iohn Culpeper.
Edmund Colbey.
Richard Cooper.
Robert Creswell.
Iohn Cage, Esquire.
Matthew Caue.
William Crowe.
Abraham Carpenter.
Iohn Crowe.
Thomas Cordell.
Richard Connock, Esquire.
William Compton.
William Chester.
Thomas Couel.
Richard Carmarden, Esquire.
William and Paul Canning.
Henry Cromwell, Esquire.
Simon Codrington.
Clement Chichly.
Iames Cullemore.
William Cantrell.

D.

Richard Earle of Dorset.
Edward Lord Denny.
Sir Iohn Digbie, now Lord Digbie.
Sir Iohn Doderidge.
Sir Drew Drewry the elder.
Sir Thomas Dennis.
Sir Robert Drewry.
Sir Iohn Dauers.
Sir Dudley Digs.
Sir Marmaduke Dorrel.

Sir Thomas Dale.
Sir Thomas Denton.
Campanie of Drapers.
Thomas Bond, Esquire.
Dauid Bent, Esquire.
Companie of Dyers.
Towne of Douer.
Master Richard Deane, Alderman.
Henry Dawkes.
Edward Dichfield.
William Dunne.
Iohn Dauis.
Matthew Dequester.
Philip Durdent.
Abraham Dawes.
Iohn Dike.
Thomas Draper.
Lancelot Dauis.
Rowley Dawsey.
William Dobson Esquire.
Anthony Dyot, Esquire.
Auery Dranfield.
Roger Dye.
Iohn Downes.
Iohn Drake.
Iohn Delbridge.
Beniamin Decroe.
Thomas Dyke.
Ieffery Duppa.
Daniel Darnely.
Sara Draper.
Clement and Henry Dawkney.

E.

Thomas, Earle of Exeter.
Sir Thomas Euerfield.
Sir Francis Egiock.
Sir Robert Edolph.
Iohn Eldre l, Esquire.
William Euans.
Richard Euans.
Hugh Euans.
Raph Ewens, Esquire.
Iohn Elkin.
Iohn Elkin.
Robert Euelin.
Nicholas Exton.
Iohn Exton.
George Etheridge.

F.

Sir Moyle Finch.
Sir Henry Fanshaw.
Sir Thomas Freake.
Sir Peter Fretchuile.
Sir William Fleetwood.
Sir Henry Fane.
Company of Fishmongers.
Iohn Fletcher.
Iohn Farmer.
Martin Freeman, Esquire.
Ralph Freeman.
William and Ralph Freeman.
Michael Fetiplace.
William Fettiplace.
Thomas Forrest.
Edward Fleetwood, Esquire.
William Felgate.
William Field.
Nicholas Ferrar.
Iohn Farrar.
Giles Francis.
Edward Fawcet.
Richard Farrington.
Iohn Francklin.
Richard Frith.
Iohn Ferne.
George Farmer.
Thomas Francis.
Iohn Fenner.
Nicholas Fuller, Esquire.

Thomas Foxall.
William Fleet.
Peter Franck, Esquire.
Richard Fishborne.
William Faldoe.
Iohn Fletcher, and Company.
William Ferrars.

G.

Lady Elizabeth Gray.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Sir William Godolfine.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir William Gee.
Sir Richard Grobham.
Sir William Garaway.
Sir Francis Goodwin.
Sir George Goring.
Sir Thomas Grantham.
Company of Grocers.
Company of Goldsmiths.
Company of Girdlers.
Iohn Geering.
Iohn Gardiner.
Richard Gardiner.
Iohn Gilbert.
Thomas Graue.
Iohn Gray.
Nicholas Grieue.
Richard Goddard.
Thomas Gipps.
Peter Gates.
Thomas Gibbs Esquire.
Laurence Greene.
William Greenwell.
Robert Garset.
Robert Gore.
Thomas Gouge.
Francis Glanuile, Esquire.

H.

Henry, Earle of Huntington.
Lord Theophilus Haward, L. Walden.
Sir Iohn Harrington, L. Harington.
Sir Iohn Hollis, now Lord Hautein.
Sir Thomas Holecroft.
Sir William Harris.
Sir Thomas Harefleet.
Sir George Haiward.
Sir Warwicke Heale.
Sir Baptist Hicks.
Sir Iohn Hanham.
Sir Thomas Horwell.
Sir Thomas Hewit.
Sir William Herrick.
Sir Eustace Hart.
Sir Pory Huntley.
Sir Arthur Harris.
Sir Edward Heron.
Sir Perseuall Hart.
Sir Ferdinando Heiborne.
Sir Lawrence Hide.
Master Hugh Hamersley, Alderman.
Master Richard Heron, Alderman.
Richard Humble, Esquire.
Master Richard Hackleuit.
Edward Harrison.
George Holeman.
Robert Hill.
Griffin Hinton.
Iohn Hawkins.
William Hancocke.
Iohn Harper.
George Hawger.
Iohn Holt.
Iohn Huntley.

Ieremy Heiden.
Ralph Hamer.
Ralph Hamer, Iunior.
Iohn Hodgeson.
Iohn Hanford.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Howell.
Thomas Henshaw.
Leonard Harwood.
Tristram Hill.
Francis Haselridge.
Tobias Hinson.
Peter Heightley.
George Hawkenson.
Thomas Hackshaw.
Charles Hawkens.
Iohn Hodgis.
William Holland.
Robert Hartley.
Gregory Herst.
Thomas Hodgis.
William Hodgis.
Roger Harris.
Iohn Harris.
M. Iohn Haiward.
Iames Haiward.
Nicholas Hide, Esquire.
Iohn Hare, Esquire.
William Hackwell, Esquire.
Gressam Hoogan.
Humfrey Hanford.
William Haselden.
Nicholas Hooker.
Doctor Anthony Hunton.
Iohn Hodsale.
George Hooker.
Anthony Hinton.
Iohn Hogsell.
Thomas Hampton.
William Hicks.
William Holiland.
Ralph Harison.
Harman Harison.

I.

Sir Thomas Iermyn,
Sir Robert Iohnson,
Sir Arthur Ingram,
Sir Francis Iones,
Company of Ironmongers,
Company of Inholders.
Company of Imbroyderers,
Bailiffes of Ipswich,
Henry Iackson,
Richard Ironside,
M. Robert Iohnson Alderman.
Thomas Iones,
William Iobson,
Thomas Iohnson,
Thomas Iadwine,
Iohn Ioshua,
George Isam,
Philip Iacobson,
Peter Iacobson,
Thomas Iuxson Senior.
Iames Iewell,
Gabriel Iaques,
Walter Iobson,
Edward Iames,
Zachary Iones, Esquire,
Anthony Irbye, Esquire.
William Ianson,
Humfrey Iobson,

K.

Sir Valentine Knightley,
Sir Robert Killegrew,
Sir Charles Kelke,
Sir Iohn Kaile,
Richard Kirrill,
Iohn Kirrill,
Raph King,
Henry Kent,

Towne of Kingslynne,
Iohn Kettleby, Esquire,
Walter Kirkham, Esquire,

L.

Henry Earle of Lincolne,
Robert, L. Lisle, now Earle of Leicester,
Thomas, Lord Laware,
Sir Francis Leigh,
Sir Richard Lowlace,
Sir William Litton,
Sir Iohn Lewson,
Sir William Lower,
Sir Samuel Leonard,
Sir Samson Leonard,
Company of Lethersellers,
Thomas Laughton,
William Lewson,
Peter Latham,
Peter Van Lore,
Henry Leigh,
Thomas Leuar,
Christofer Landman,
Morris Lewellin,
Edward Lewis,
Edward Lewkin,
Peter Lodge,
Thomas Layer,
Thomas Lawson,
Francis Lodge,
Iohn Langley,
Dauid Loide,
Iohn Leuitt,
Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge.
Captaine Richard Linley,
Arnold Lulls,
William Lawrence,
Iohn Landman,
Nicholas Lichfield,
Nicholas Leate,
Gedeon de Laune,

M.

Philip Earle of Montgomerie,
Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Bishop of Lincolne,
William Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley,
Sir Thomas Mansell,
Sir Thomas Mildmay,
Sir William Maynard,
Sir Humfrey May,
Sir Peter Manhood,
Sir Iohn Merrick,
Sir George More,
Sir Robert Mansell,
Sir Arthur Mannering,
Sir Dauid Murrey,
Sir Edward Michelborn,
Sir Thomas Middleton,
Sir Robert Miller,
Sir Caualiero Maicott,
Doctor Iames Meddus,
Richard Martin, Esquire,
Company of Mercers,
Company of Merchant Taylors,
Otho Mowdite,
Captaine Iohn Martin,
Arthur Mouse,
Adrian More,
Thomas Mountford,
Thomas Morris,
Ralph Moorton,
Francis Mapes,
Richard Maplesden,
Iames Monger,
Peter Monsell,
Robert Middleton,
Thomas Maile,

Iohn Martin,
Iosias Maude,
Richard Morton,
George Mason,
Thomas Maddock,
Richard Moore,
Nicholas Moone,
Alfonsus van Medkerk,
Captaine Henry Meoles,
Philip Mutes,
Thomas Mayall,
Humfrey Marret,
Ieruis Mundz,
Robert Mildmay,
William Millet,
Richard Morer,
Iohn Miller,
Thomas Martin,
Iohn Middleton,
Francis Middleton,

N.

Dudley, Lord North,
Francis, Lord Norris,
Sir Henry Neuill of Barkshire,
Thomas Nicols,
Christopher Nicols,
William Nicols,
George Newce,
Ioseph Newberow,
Christopher Newgate,
Thomas Norincott,
Ionathan Nuttall,
Thomas Norton,

O.

William Oxenbridge, Esquire
Robert Offley,
Francis Oliuer,

P.

William, Earle of Pembroke,
William, Lord Paget,
Iohn, Lord Petre,
George Percy, Esquire,
Sir Christopher Parkins,
Sir Amias Preston,
Sir Nicholas Parker,
Sir William Poole,
Sir Stephen Powell,
Sir Henry Peyton,
Sir Iames Perrot,
Sir Iohn Pettus,
Sir Robert Payne,
William Payne,
Iohn Payne,
Edward Parkins,
Edward Parkins his widow,
Aden Perkins,
Thomas Perkin,
Richard Partridge,
William Palmer,
Miles Palmer,
Robert Parkhurst,
Richard Perciuall, Esquire,
Richard Poyntell,
George Pretty,
George Pit,
Allen Percy,
Abraham Pierce,
Edmund Pierce,
Phenice Pet,
Thomas Philips,
Henry Philpot,
Master George Proctor,
Robert Pennington,
Peter Peate,
Iohn Prat,
William Powell,
Edmund Peashall,
Captaine William Proude,

Henry Price,
Nicholas Pewriffe,
Thomas Pelham,
Richard Piggot,
Iohn Pawlet, Esquire,
Robert Pory,
Richard Paulson,

Q.

William Quicke,

R.

Sir Robert Rich, now Earle of Warwicke,
Sir Thomas Row,
Sir Henry Rainsford,
Sir William Romney,
Sir Iohn Ratcliffe,
Sir Steuen Ridlesdon,
Sir William Russell,
Master Edward Rotheram, Alderman,
Robert Rich,
Tedder Roberts,
Henry Robinson,
Iohn Russell,
Richard Rogers,
Arthur Robinson,
Robert Robinson,
Millicent Ramsden,
Iohn Robinson,
George Robins,
Nicholas Rainton,
Henry Rolfe,
Iohn Reighnolds,
Elias Roberts,
Henry Reighnolds, Esquire,
William Roscarrocke, Esquire,
Humfrey Raymell,
Richard Robins,

S.

Henry, Earle of Southampton,
Thomas Earle of Suffolke,
Edward Semer, Earle of Hartford,
Robert, Earle of Salisbury,
Mary, Countesse of Shrewsbury,
Edmund, Lord Sheffeld,
Robert, Lord Spencer,
Iohn, Lord Stanhope,
Sir Iohn Saint-Iohn,
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Iohn Samms,
Sir Iohn Smith,
Sir Edwin Sandys,
Sir Samuel Sandys.
Sir Steuen Some,
Sir Raph Shelton,
Sir Thomas Stewkley,
Sir William Saint-Iohn.
Sir William Smith.
Sir Richard Smith,
Sir Martin Stuteuil.
Sir Nicolas Salter,
Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter,
Captaine Iohn Smith,
Thomas Sandys, Esquire,
Henry Sandys, Esquire,
George Sandys, Esquire,
Company of Skinners,
Company of Salters,
Company of Stationers.
Iohn Stokley,
Richard Staper,
Robert Singleton,
Thomas Shipton,

Cleophas Smith,
Richard Strongtharm,
Hilderand Spruson,
Matthew Scriuener,
Othowell Smith,
George Scot,
Hewet Stapers,
James Swift,
Richard Stratford,
Edmund Smith,
Robert Smith,
Matthias Springham,
Richard Smith,
Edward Smith,
Ionathan Smith,
Humfrey Smith,
Iohn Smith,
George Swinhow,
Ioseph Some,
William Sheckley,
John Southick,
Henry Shelley,
Walter Shelley,
Richard Snarsborow,
George Stone,
Hugh Shepley,
William Strachey,
Varion Spencer,
Iohn Scarpe,
Thomas Scott,
William Sharpe,
Steuen Sparrow,
Thomas Stokes,
Richard Shepard,
Henry Spranger,
William Stonnard,
Steuen Sad,
Iohn Stockley.
Thomas Stevens,
Matthew Shepard,
Thomas Sherwell,
William Seabright, Esquire,
Nicholas Sherwell,
Augustine Steward.
Thomas Stile,
Abraham Speckhard,
Edmund Scot,
Francis Smalman,
Gregory Spint, Esquire,
Thomas Stacy,
William Sandbatch,
Augustine Steward, Esquire.

T.

Sir William Twisden,
Sir William Throckmorton,
Sir Nicholas Tufton,
Sir Iohn Treuer,
Sir Thomas Tracy,
George Thorpe, Esquire,
Doctor William Turner,
The Trinity house,
Richard Turner,
Iohn Tauerner,
Daniel Tucker,
Charles Towler,
William Tayler,
Leonard Townson,
Richard Tomlins,
Francis Tate, Esquire,
Andrew Throughton,
George Tucker,
Henry Timberlake,
*W*illiam Tucker,
Lewis Tite,
Robert Thornton,

V.

Sir Horatio Vere,
Sir *W*alter Vaughan,
Henry Vincent,
Richard Venne,

Christopher Vertue,
Iohn Vassell,
Arthur Venne,

W.

Henry Bishop of Worcester,
Francis *W*est, Esquire,
Sir Ralph *W*inwood,
Sir Iohn *W*entworth,
Sir *W*illiam *W*aad,
Sir Robert *W*roth,
Sir Perciual *W*illoby,
Sir Charles *W*ilmott,
Sir Iohn *W*ats,
Sir Hugh *W*orrell,
Sir Edward *W*aterhouse,
Sir Thomas *W*ilsford,
Sir Richard *W*illiamson,
Sir Iohn *W*olstenholm,
Sir Thomas *W*alsingham,
Sir Thomas *W*atson,
Sir Thomas Wilson,
Sir Iohn Weld,
Mistris Kath. West, now Lady Conway,
Iohn Wroth, Esquire,
Captaine Maria Winckfield, Esquire,
Thomas Webb,
Rice Webb,
Edward Webb,
Sands Webb,
Felix Wilson,
Thomas White,
Richard Wiffen,
*W*illiam *W*illiamson,
Humfrey *W*estwood,
Hugh *W*illeston,
Thomas *W*heatley,
*W*illiam *W*attey,
*W*illiam *W*ebster,
Iames *W*hite,
Edmund *W*inne,
Iohn *W*est,
Iohn *W*right,
Edward *W*ooller,
Thomas Walker,
Iohn *W*ooller,
Iohn *W*estrow,
Edward *W*elch,
Nathaniel Waad,
Richard Widowes,
Dauid Waterhouse, Esquire,
Captaine Owen Winne,
Randall Wetwood,
George Wilmer, Esquire,
Edward Wilkes,
Leonard White,
Andrew Willmer,
Clement Willmer,
George Walker,
William Welbie,
Francis Whistler,
Thomas Wells,
Captaine Thomas Winne,
Iohn Whittingham,
Thomas Wheeler,
William Willet,
Deuereux Woogam,
Iohn Walker,
Thomas Wood,
Iohn Willet,
Nicholas Wheeler,
Thomas Wale,
William Wilston,
Iohn Waller,
William Ward,
William Willeston,
Iohn Water,
Thomas Warr, Esquire,
Dauid Wiffin,
Garret Weston,

Y.	Z.
Sir George Yeardley, now Gouernour of Virginia.	Edward, Lord Zouch,
William Yong,	Iohn Zouch, Esquire,
Simon Yeomans,	

THAT most generous and most honourable Lord, the Earle of Southampton, being pleased to take vpon him the title of Treasurer, and *Master Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, with such instructions as were necessary, and admonitions to all Officers to take heede of extortion, ingrossing commodities, forestalling of markets, especially to haue a vigilant care, the familiarity of the Saluages liuing amongst them made them not way to betray or surprize them, for the building of Guest-houses to relieue the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no discoueries, nor knew no more then the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could euer see any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble, therefore they sent to be added to the Councell seuen Gentlemen, namely *Mr. Thorp*, Captaine *Nuce*, *Mr. Tracy*, Captaine *Middleton*, Captaine *Blount*, *Mr. Iohn Pountas*, and *Mr. Harwood*, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting, but they write from *Virginia*, many of the Ships were so pestered with diseased people, and thronged together in their passage, there was much sicknesse and a great mortality, wherefore they desired rather a few able sufficient men well prouided, then great multitudes, and because there were few accidents of note, but priuate aduertisements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next. *Collected out of the Councels letters for Virginia.*

The instructions and aduertisements for this yeere were both from *England* and *Virginia*, much like the last: only whereas before they had euer a suspicion of *Opechankanough*, and all the rest of the Saluages, they had an eye euer him more then any, but now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Saluages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery, so that euery man planteth himselfe where he pleaseth, and followeth his

businesse securely. But the time of Sir *George Yeardley* being neere expired, the Councel here made choise of a worthy young Gentleman Sir *Francis Wyat* to succeed him, whom they forth with furnished and prouided, as they had done his Predecessors, with all the necessary instructions all these times had acquainted them for the conuersion of the Saluages, the suppressing of planting Tobacco, and planting Corne, not depending continually to be supplied by the Saluages, but in case of necessity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promised and expected should haue beene fed and relieued by the English, not the English by them; and carefully to redresse all the complaints of the needlesse mortality of their people, and by all diligence seeke to send something home to satisfie the Aduenturers, that all this time had only liued vpon hopes, grew so weary and discouraged, that it must now be substance that must maintaine their proceedings, and not letters, excuses and promises; seeing they could get so much and such great estates for themselues, as to spend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay some 2000. or 3000. pounds yearely, that were not worth so many pence when they went to *Virginia*, can scarce containe themselues either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a lesse compasse than our curious, costly, and consuming Gallants here in *England*, which cannot possibly be there supported, but either by oppressing the Comminalty there, or deceiuing the generality here (or both.) *Extracted out of the Councels Letters for Virginia.*

From *Virginia*, by the relations of the Chieftaines there, and many I haue conferred with, that came from thence hither, I haue much admired to heare of the incredible pleasure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound in, and yet could neuer heare of any returne but Tobacco, but it hath oft amazed me to vnderstand how strangely the Saluages hath beene taught the vse of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeces, and our men rooting in the groundabout Tobacco like Swine; besides that, the Saluages that doe little but continually exercise their bow and arrowes, should dwell and lie so familiarly amongst our men that practised little but the Spade, being so farre asunder, and in such small parties dispersed, and neither Fort, exercise of armes vsed, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard, nor any prepa-

ration nor prouison to preuent a forraine enemy, much more the Saluages; howsoeuer for the Saluages vncertaine conformity I doe not wonder, but for their constancy and conuersion, I am and euer haue beene of the opinion of Master *Ionas Stockam* a Minister in *Virginia*, who euen at this time, when all things were so prosperous, and the Saluages at the point of conuersion, against all their Gouernours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councell and Company in *England* to this effect.

May 28.

WE that haue left our natiue country to soiourne in a strange land, some idle spectators, who either cowardly dare not, or couetously will not aduenture either their purses or persons in so commendable a worke; others supporting *Atlas* of this almost vnsupportable burdens as your selues, without whose assistance this *Virginia* Firmament (in which some) and I hope in short time will shine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Englishmen enuies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can deuise seekes to dishearten what they can, those that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to such I wish according to the decree of *Darius*, that whosoeuer is an enemy to our peace, and seeketh either by getting monipolicall patents, or by forging vniust tales to hinder our welfare, that his house were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

As for those lasie seruants, who had rather stand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard, and spend their substance riotously, than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury, I leaue them as they are to the eternall Iudge of the world. But you right worthy, that hath aduentured so freely, I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which it may be you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide, for the conuersion of the Saluages: I wonder you vse not the meanes, I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it, as for the gifts bestowed on hem they deuoured them, and so they would

the giuers if they could, and though many haue endeauoured by all meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no Statesman, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse; and I am perswaded if *Mars* and *Minerua* goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians in their liues, and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.

The gouernment of Sir Francis Wyat.

About October arriued Sir *Francis Wyat*, with Master *George Sands*, appointed Treasurer, Master *Dauison* Secretary, Doctor *Pot* the Physician, and Master *Cloyburne* the Surgian, but much prouision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality, and whatsoeuer is said against the *Virginia* Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any prouision is sent thither; the Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the prouisions sent to priuate men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir *Francis Wyat* not one Passenger died, at his arriuall he sent Master *Thorpe* to *Opechancanough*, whom hee found much satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined: euery man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordred, that for euery head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and vpon each plant nine leaues, which will be about 100. weight, the Corne being appointed but at two shillings and six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men neglect it, and depend vpon trade; where were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, euery man would indeuour to haue plenty to sell to the new commers,

or any that wanted, and seldome any is transported from *England*, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard and other necessaries, the Ships might transport of that burden. The 22. of Nouember arriued Master *Gookin* out of *Ireland*, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of prouision and cattle, and planted himselfe at *Nupors neues:* the Cotten trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: here any thing that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases. And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent. *Out of the Councels Letters from Virginia.*

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that imployed more than 400. sailers and 1300 men, women and children of diuers faculties, with fourescore cattell; the *Tiger* fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped, and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron than there: and the French men affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Oliues, Slike, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity.

GIFTS.

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the *Royall Iames* from the *East Indies*, gaue towards the building of a free Schoole 70. pound, eight shillings, and six pence: and an vnknowne person to further it, sent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner fiue and twenty pounds; another refusing to be made knowne, gaue fortie shillings yeerely for a Sermon before the *Virginia* companie: also another that would not be knowne, sent for the College at *Henrico*, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, and a most curious Map of al that coast of *America*. Master *Thomas Bargaue* their Preacher there deceased, gaue a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thousand and fiue hundred pounds to build a house for the entertaining of strangers. This yeere also

there was much suing for Patents for Plantations, who promised to transport such great multitudes of people: there was much disputing concerning those diuisions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: six and twentie obtained their desires. but as yet not past six hath sent thither a man; notwithstanding many of them would haue more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to persue this saying of honest *Claudius.*

> See'st not the world of Natures worke, the fairest well, I wot,
> How it, it selfe together ties, as in a true-loues knot.
> Nor seest how th' Elements ayre combin'd, maintaine one constant plea,
> How midst of heauen contents the Sunne, and shore containes the sea:
> And how the aire both compasseth, and carrieth still earths frame,
> Yet neither pressing burdens it, nor parting leaues the same.

The obseruations of Master Iohn Pory *Secretarie of* Virginia, *in his trauels.*

Hauing but ten men meanly prouided to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere *Acomack.* Captaine *Wilcocks* plantation, the better to secure and assist each other. Sir *George Yearely* intending to visit *Smiths* Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with *Estinien Molt* a French-man, to finde a conuenient place to make salt in. Not long after *Namenacus* the King of *Pawtuxunt*, came to vs to seeke for *Thomas Saluage* our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed vs his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie vpon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Hauing taken a muster of the companies tenants, I went to *Smiths* Iles, where was our Salthouse: not farre off wee found a more conuenient place, and so returned to *Iames* towne.

Being furnished the second time, wee arriued at *Aquohanock*, and conferred with *Kiptopeke* their King. Passing *Russels* Ile and *Onaucoke*, we arriued at *Pawtuxunt:* the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine *Smiths* discoueries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe. But

here arriuing at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenacus* and *Wamanato*, his brother, long wee staied not ere they came aboord vs with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oisters. Strict order was giuen none should offend vs, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discouer what I could in their confines. *Wamanato* brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and vsed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he presented me twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee liued, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first Chapter of *Genesis* expounded of *Adam* and *Eue*, and simple mariage: to which he replyed, hee was like *Adam* in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better vnderstood.— The next day the two Kings with their people, came aboord vs, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne *Saluage* challenged *Namenacus* the breach of three promises, *viz.* not in giuing him a Boy, nor Corne, though they had plentie, nor *Moutapass* a fugitiue, called *Robert Marcum*, that had liued 5. yeeres amongst those northerly nations, which hee cunningly answered by excuses. *Womanato* it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staied alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired vnto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse vs.

Some things being stolne from vs, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things he much admired our discretions, and gaue vs a guide that hee called brother, to conduct vs vp the Riuer: by the way we met with diuers that still tould vs of *Marcum:* and though it was in October, we found the Countrie very hot, and the Corne gathered before ours at *James* towne.— The next day we went to *Paccamagannant*, and they directed

vs to *Assacomoco*, where their King *Cassatowap* had an old quarrell with Ensigne *Saluage*, but now seeming reconciled, went with vs, with another Werowance towards *Matiapanient*, where they perswaded vs ashore vpon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre wee had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Saluages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had lie in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie: because we would conuert them by courtesie. Leauing them as we found them, very ciuill and subtill, wee returned the same way wee came, to the laughing King on the Easterne shore, who told vs plainly, *Namanicus* would haue allured him into his Countrie, under colour of trade to cut his throat. Hee told vs also *Opechankanough* had imployed *Oniumimo* to kill *Saluage*, because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his sonne, and some thirirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings in rescuing *Thomas Granes* whom they would haue slaine, where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene *Pamarnkes* to fight, but they durst not, so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more.

This *Thomas Saluage*, it is sixteene yeeres since he went to *Virginia*, being a boy, hee was left with *Powhatan*, for *Namontacke* to learne the language, and as this Author affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath serued the publike without any public recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their seruice. This laughing King at *Accomack*, tels vs the land is not two daies iourney ouer in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people, so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. *Kiptope* his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree, nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counceller, as hee is an affectionated Brother, bearing the

greater burden in gouernment, though the lesse honour, where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands of any Saluages we know: for they prouide Corne to serue them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most ciuill and tractable people we haue met with, and by little stickes will keepe as iust an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their marriages they obserue a large distance, as well in affinitie and consanguinitie: nor doe they vse that deuillish custome in making black Boyes. There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West would inuade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay, and so would diuers other Nations, were they not protected by vs. A few of the Westerly Runnagadoes had conspired against the laughing King, but fearing their treason was discouered, fled to *Smiths* Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hoggs; and thence to *Rickahake* betwixt *Chissapeack* and *Nansamund*. where they now are seated vnder the command of *Itoyatin*, and so I returned to *Iames* Towne, where I found the gouernment rendered to Sir *Francis Wyat*. In February also he trauelled to the South Riuer *Chawonock*, some sixtie miles ouer land, which he found to be a uery fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two haruests in a yeere, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly vsed by the people, and so returned.

Captaine Each *sent to build a Fort to secure the Country.* 1622.

It was no small content to all the Aduenturers to heare of the safe arriuall of all those ships and companies, which was thought sufficient to haue made a Plantation of themselues: and againe to second them, was sent Captaine *Each* in the *Abigale*, a ship of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath vndertaken to make a Block-house amongst the Oyster banks, that shall secure the Riuer. The furnishing him with Instruments, cost three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and the ships returne, will be neere two thousand pounds.— In her went Captaine *Barwicke* with fiue and twentie men

for the building ships and Boats, and not other waies to be imploied: and also a selected number to build the *East Indie* Schoole, but as yet from *Virginia* little returnes but priuate mens Tobacco, and faire promises of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, besides the speedy conuersion of the Saluages, that at first were much discouraged from liuing amongst them, when they were debarred the vse of their peeces; therefore it was disputed as a matter of State, whether such as would liue amongst them should vse them or not, as a bait to allure them: or at least such as should bee called to the knowledge of Christ. But because it was a great trouble for all causes to be brought to *Iames* Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in conuenient places to releeue them: but as they can make no Lawes in *Virginia* till they be ratified here; so they thinke it but reason, none should bee inacted here without their consents, because they onely feele them, and must liue vnder them. Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what must be had by Trade, and how vnwilling any Officer when he leaueth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Successor, but many of them during their times to help themselues, vndoes the Company: for the seruants you allow them, or such as they hire, they plant on their priuate Lands, not vpon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, besides those which are your tenants to halfes, are forced to row them vp and downe, whereby both you and they lose more then halfe. Nor are those officers the ablest or best deseruing, but make their experience vpon the companies cost, and your land lies vnmanured to any purpose, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers.

The massacre vpon the two and twentieth of March.

The Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by *Nemattanow*, otherwise called *Iack* of the *Feather*, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Saluages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the *English*. This Captaine comming

to one *Morgans* house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded *Morgan* to goe with him to *Pamauke* to trucke, but the Saluage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to *Morgans* house, where he found two youths his Seruants, who asked for their Master: *Iack* replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would haue had him to Master *Thorp:* But *Iack* so moued their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground, put him in a Boat to haue him before the Gouernor, then seuen or eight miles from them. But by the way *Iack* finding the pangs of death vpon him, desired of the Boyes two things; the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the *English*. At the losse of this Saluage *Opechankanough* much grieued and repined, with great threats of reuenge; but the *English* returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of loue and peace, yet within foureteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Sir *Francis Wyat* at his arriuall was aduertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and vnuiolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Saluages being euery way bettered by vs, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle, by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground inuited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Saluages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conuersion of the Saluages as they supposed.

Hauing occasion to send to *Opechankanough* about the middle of March, hee vsed the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolued it; yet such was the trechery of those people, when they had contriued our destruction, euen but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one *Browne* that liued among

them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master; yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselues ouer the Riuer to consult on the deuilish murder that insued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as also in the euening before, as at other times they came vnarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other prouisions to sell vs. yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediately with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction: In which manner also they slew many of our people at seuerall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with vs, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conuersion; and by this meanes fell that fatall morning vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty seuen men, women and children, most by their owne weapons, and not being content with their liues they fell againe vpon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carcasses into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits, but spitefully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie: being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which haue preserued their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie vpon them, but these miscreants put on a more vnnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

That worthy religious Gentleman M. *George Thorp*, Deputy to the College lands, sometimes one of his Maiesties Pensioners, and in command one of the principall in *Virginia*, did so truly affect their conuersion, that whosoeuer vnder him did them the least displeasure, were punished seuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he neuer denied

them any thing, in so much that when they complained that our Mastiues did feare them, he to content them in all things, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would haue had all the rest guelt to make them the milder, might he haue had his will The King dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a faire house after the English fashion, in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no deuice in the world comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe into this Kings fauour for his religious purpose, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Discourse had done, and this Pagan confessed to him as he did to them, our God was better then theirs, and seemed to be much pleased with that Discourse, and of his company, and to requite all those courtesies: yet this viperous brood did, as the sequell shewed, not onely murder him, but with such spight and scorne abused his dead corps as is vnfitting to be heard with ciuill eares.— One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman vpon this fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiuing some treachery intended by those hell-hounds, to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare he should be apprehended, and so saued his owne life: yet his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence, they had slaine him, or he could or would beleeue they would hurt him. Captaine *Nathaniel Powell* one of the first Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongst them; yet such was the error of an ouer-conceited power and prosperitie, and their simplicities, they not onely slew him and his family, but butcher-like hagled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expresse their vttermost height of cruelty. Another of the old company of Captaine *Smith*, called *Nathaniell Causie*, being cruelly wounded, and the Saluages about him, with an axe did cleaue one of their heads, whereby the rest fled and he escaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or stand vpon their guard. In one place where there was but two men that had warning of it, they defended the house against 60. or more that assaulted it. M. *Baldwin* at *Warraskoyack*, his wife being so wounded, she lay for dead, yet by his oft discharging of his peece, saued her, his house, himselfe, and diuers others. At the

same time they came to one Master *Harisons* house, neere halfe a mile from *Baldwines*, where was Master *Thomas Hamer* with six men, and eighteene or nineteene women and children. Here the Saluages with many presents and faire perswasions, fained they came for Capt. *Ralfe Hamer* to go to their King, then hunting in the woods, presently they sent to him, but he not comming as they expected, set fire of a Tobacco-house, and then came to tell them in the dwelling house of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it, but Master *Hamer* not suspecting any thing, whom the Saluages pursued, shot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. *Hamer* hauing finished a letter hee was a writing, followed after to see what was the matter, but quickly they shot an arrow in his backe, which caused him returne and barricado vp the doores, whereupon the Saluages set fire on the house. *Harisons* Boy finding his Masters peece loaded, discharged it at randome, at which bare report the Saluages all fled, *Baldwin* still discharging his peece, and Mr *Hamer* with two and twentie persons thereby got to his house, leauing their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant *Basse* his house, with all the rest there about, slaine the people, and so left that Plantation.

Captaine *Hamer* all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Saluages chasing some, yet escaped, retired to his new house then a building, from whence he came; there onely with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himselfe and his Company till the Saluages departed. Not long after, the Master from the ship had sent six Musketiers, with which he recouered their Merchants storehouse, where he armed ten more, and so with thirtie more vnarmed workmen found his Brother and the rest at *Baldwins:* Now seeing all they had was burnt and consumed, they repaired to *Iames* Towne with their best expedition: yet not far from *Martins* hundred, where seuenty three were slaine, was a little house and a small family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

All those, and many others whom they haue as maliciously murdered, sought the good of those poore brutes, that thus despising Gods mercies, must needs now as miscreants be corrected by Iustice: to which leauing them, I will knit together the thread of this discourse. At the time of the massacre,

there were three or foure ships in *Iames* Riuer, and one in the next, and daily more to come in, as there did within fourteene daies after, one of which they indeuoured to haue surprised: yet were the hearts of the English euer stupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde vsage to Christianitie. But diuers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will there out draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flourishing estate and safetie to themselues, and with more speed to conuert the Saluage children to himselfe, since he so miraculously had preserued the English; there being yet, God be praised, eleuen parts of twelue remaining, whose carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to haue beene the greatest cause of their destructions: yet you see, God by a conuerted Saluage that disclosed the plot, saued the rest, and the Pinnace then in *Pamarukes* Riuer, whereof (say they) though our sinnes made vs vnworthy of so glorious a conuersion, yet his infinite wisdome can neuerthelesse bring it to passe, and in good time, by such meanes as we thinke most vnlikely: for in the deliuery of them that suruiue, no mans particular carefulnesse saued one person, but the meere goodnesse of God himselfe, freely and miraculously preseruing whom he pleased.

The Letters of Master *George Sands*, a worthy Gentleman, and many others besides them returned, brought vs this vnwelcome news, that hath beene heard at large in publicke Court, that the *Indians* and they liued as one Nation, yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to subuert the whole Colony, and at one instant, though our seuerall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles vpon the Riuer on both sides.

But for the better vnderstanding of all things, you must remember these wilde naked natiues liue not in great numbers together, but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places haue two hundred, few places more, but many lesse; yet they had all warning giuen them one from another in all their habitations, though farre asunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our destruction at al our seuerall Plantations: some directed to one place, some to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly: Some entring their houses vnder colour of trading, so tooke their aduantage; others drawing

vs abroad vnder faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling vpon those that were at their labours.

Six of the counsell suffered vnder this treason, and the slaughter had beene vniuersall, if God had not put it into the heart of an *Indian*, who lying in the house of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his Brother, that lay with him the night before to kill *Pace*, as he should doe *Perry* which was his friend, being so commanded from their King: telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished: *Perrys Indian* presently arose and reueales it to *Pace*, that vsed him as his sonne; and thus them that escaped was saued by this one conuerted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie seuen were slaine, yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserued, for which Gods name be praised for euer and euer.

Pace vpon this, securing his house, before day rowed to *Iames* Towne, and told the Gouernor of it, whereby they were preuented, and at such other Plantations as possibly intelligence could be giuen: and where they saw vs vpon our guard at the sight of a peece they ranne away; but the rest were most slaine, their houses burnt, such Armes and Munition as they found they tooke away, and some cattell also they destroied. Since wee finde *Opechankanough* the last yeare had practised with a King on the Easterne shore, to furnish him with a kind of poison, which onely growes in his Country to poison vs. But of this bloudy acte neuer griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselues, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presenting of a staffe in manner of a peece, nor an vncharged peece in the hands of a woman. (But I must tell all those Authors, though some might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better spirits.)

Thus haue you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we haue iust cause to destroy them by all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had neuer happened, for they haue giuen vs an hundred times as iust occasions long ago to subject them. (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master *Stockham* and Master *Whitaker* of my opinion.) Moreouer, where before we were troubled in clearing the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small vse: now we may take their owne plaine

fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowle will exceedingly increase if we beat the Saluages out of the Countrey, for at all times of the yeere they neuer spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season nor out of season with them all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they haue vsed to kill eight in ten more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to ciuilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their ciuilizing will require a long time and much industry. The manner how to suppresse them is so often related and approued, I omit it here: And you haue twenty examples of the *Spaniards* how they got the *West-Indies*, and forced the trecherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slauery for them, themselues liuing like Souldiers vpon the fruits of their labours. This will make vs more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie: (But I say, this might as well haue beene put in practise sixteene yeeres agoe as now.)

Thus vpon this Anuill shall wee now beat our selues an Armour of proofe hereafter to defend vs against such incursions, and euer hereafter make vs more circumspect: but to helpe to repaire this losse, besides his Maiesties bounty in Armes, he gaue the Company out of the Tower, and diuers other Honorable persons haue renewed their aduentures, we must not omit the Honorable Citie of *London*, to whose endlesse praise wee may speake it, are now setting forward one hundred pesrsons, and diuers others at their owne costs are a repairing, and all good men doe thinke neuer the worse of the businesse for all these disasters.

What growing state was there euer in the world which had not the like? *Rome* grew by oppression, and rose vpon the back of her enemies: and the *Spaniards* haue had many of those counterbuffes, more than we. *Columbus*, vpon his returne from the *West-Indies* into *Spaine*, hauing left his people with the *Indies*, in peace and promise of good vsage amongst them, at his returne backe found not one of them liuing, but all treacherously slaine by the Saluages. After this againe, when the Spanish Colonies were increased to great numbers, the *Indians* from whom the *Spaniards* for trucking stuffe vsed to haue all their corne, generally

conspired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famish them; themselues liuing in the meane time vpon Cassaua, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themselues. This plot of theirs by the *Spaniards* oversight, that foolishly depended vpon strangers for their bread, tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no vncleane nor loathsome beast, no not the poisonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them vp also, deuouring one death to saue them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere surfeted, sickned and died miserably, and when they had againe recouered this losse, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the *Indian* disease, we call the French Pox, which at first being a strange and an vnknowne malady, was deadly vpon whomsoeuer it lighted: then had they a little flea called *Nigua* which got betweene the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making swellings and putrifactions, to the decay and losse of many of their bodily members.

Againe, diuers times they were neere vndone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. *Columbus*, to whom they were also much beholden, was sent with his Brother in chaines into *Spaine*: and some other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. *Pizzaro* was killed by *Almagros* sonne, and him *Vasco* beheaded, which *Vasco* was taken by *Blasco*, and *Blasco* was likewise taken by *Pizzaros* Brother: Andthus by their couetous and spightfull quarrels, they were euer shaking the maine pillars of their Common-weale. These and many more mischiefes and calamities hapned them, more then euer did to vs, and at one time being euen at the last gaspe, had two ships not arriued with supplies as they did, they were so disheartned, they were a leauing the Countrey: yet we see for all those miseries they haue attained to their ends at last, as is manifest to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth: and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great suit they must obtaine it; but where there was no honesty, nor equity, nor sanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good ciuilitie in such a Countrey, certainly there can bee no stabilitie.

Therefore let vs not be discouraged, but rather animated by those conclusions, seeing we are so well assured of the goodnesse and commodities may bee had in *Virginia*, nor is

it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of most sorts, no not of the richest, as is well knowne to some yet liuing that can make it manifest when time shall serue: and yet to thinke that gold and siluer Mines are in a country otherwise most rich and fruitfull, or the greatest wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error, as is that opinion likewise, that the gold and siluer is now the greatest wealth of the West Indies at this present. True it is indeed, that in the first conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty store of treasure from the Natiues, which they in long space had heaped together, and in those times the Indians shewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that haue beene there, are exceedingly wasted, so that now the charge of getting those Metals is growne excessiue, besides the consuming the liues of many by their pestilent smoke and vapours in digging and refining them, so that all things considered, the cleere gaines of those metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Aduenturers is but small, and nothing neere so much as vulgarly is imagined; and were it not for other rich Commodities there that inrich them, those of the Contraction house were neuer able to subsist by the Mines onely; for the greatest part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly transported from other parts of the world, and planted in the *West-Indies*, as in their mighty wealth of Sugarcanes, being first transported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the *East-Indies*, in their Cochanele. Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite store of Hides, Quick-siluer, Allum, Woad, Brasill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Sassaparilla, and many other physicall drugs: These are the meanes whereby they raise that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and siluer to the great and cleare reuenue of their King. Now seeing the most of those commodities, or as vsefull, may be had in *Virginia* by the same meanes, as I haue formerly said; let vs with all speed take the priority of time, where also may be had the priority of place, in chusing the best seats of the Country, which now by vanquishing the saluages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentlenesse and faire comportments could attaine vnto.

The number that was slaine in those seuerall Plantations.

1	At Captaine *Berkleys* Plantation, himselfe and 21. others, seated at the *Falling-Crick*, 66. miles from *Iames* City. - - - - - -	22
2	At Master *Thomas Sheffelds* Plantation, some three miles from the *Falling-Crick*, himselfe hnd 12. others. - - - - - - - -	13
3	At *Henrico* Hand, about two miles from *Sheffelds* Plantation. - - - - - - -	6
4	Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from *Henrico*. - - - - - - -	17
5	At *Charles* City, and of Captaine *Smiths* men. -	5
6	At the next adioyning Plantation. - - -	8
7	At *William Farrars* house. - - - -	10
8	At *Brickley* hundred, fifty miles from *Charles* City, Master *Thorp* and - - - - - -	10
9	At *Westouer*, a mile from *Brickley*. - -	2
10	At Master *Iohn Wests* Plantation. - - -	2
11	At Captaine *Nathaniel Wests* Plantation. -	2
12	At Lieutenant *Gibs* his Plantation. - - -	12
13	At *Richard Owens* house, himselfe and - -	6
14	At Master *Owen Macars* house, himselfe and -	3
15	At *Martins* hundred, seuen miles from *Iames* City.	73
16	At another place. - - - - - - -	7
17	At *Edward Bonits* Plantation. - - -	50
18	At Master *Waters* his house, himselfe and -	4
19	At *Apamatucks* Riuer, at Master *Perce* his Plantation, fiue miles from the College. - -	4
20	At Master *Macocks* Diuident, Captaine *Samuel Macock*, and - - - - - - -	4
21	At *Flowerda* hundred, Sir *George Yearleys* Plantation. - - - - - - - -	6
22	On the other side opposite to it. - - -	7
23	At Master *Swinhows* house, himselfe and -	7
24	At Master *William Bickars* house, himselfe and -	4
25	At *Weanock*, of Sir *George Yearleys* people. -	21
26	At *Powel Brooke*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powel*, and	12
27	At *South-hampton* hundred. - - - -	5
28	At *Martin Brandons* hundred. - - -	7

29	At Captaine *Henry Spilmans* house. - -	2
30	At Ensigne *Spences* house. - - - -	5
31	At Master *Thomas Perse* his house by *Mulbery* Ile, himselfe and - - - - - - -	4
	The whole number	347

Men in this taking bettered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and marke Reli ion,
For then true voyces issue from their hearts,
Then speake they what they thinke in inmost parts,
The truth remaines, they cast off fained Arts.

This lamentable and so vnexpected a disaster caused them all beleeue the opinion of Master *Stockham*, and draue them all to their wits end: it was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolue what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good fiue or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible vpon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Saluages. Only Master *Gookins* at *Nuports-news* would not obey the Commanders command in that, though he had scarce fiue and thirty of all sorts with him, yet he thought himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great credit and the content of his Aduenturers. Master *Samuel Iorden* gathered together but a few of the stragglers about him at Beggersbush, where he fortified and liued in despight of the enemy. Nay, Mistrisse *Proctor*, a proper, ciuill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselues, as the Saluages did when they were gone, in whose despight they had kept it, and what they had a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre: which was to their hearts a griefe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures. Now here in *England* it was thought, all those remainders might presently haue beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most

conuenient with what they had, hauing such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might haue beene made inuincible Castles against the Saluages in the Land, and then presently raised a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and secure the rest, and so haue had all that Country betwixt the Riuers of *Powhatan* and *Pamavnke* to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of *Kecoughtan*, *Chiskact* and *Paspahege*, from *Ozenies* to that branch of *Pamavnke*, comming from *Youghtanund*, which strait of land is not past 4. or. 5. miles, to haue made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Iles, inuironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Riuers, which for plenty of such things as *Virginia* affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men. This, were it well vnderstood, cannot but be thought better then to bring fiue or six hundred to lodge and liue on that, which before would not well receiue and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they haue vpon hopes out of *England*, one euill begetting another, till the disease is past cure: Therefore it is impossibe but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it proue otherwise, I should be exceeding glad. I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other mens actions being not present, but they haue done as much of me; yea many here in *England* that were neuer there, and also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed; and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion, seeing the old Prouerbe doth allow losers leaue to speake; and *Du Bartas* saith.

> Euen as the wind the angry Ocean moues,
> Waue hunteth Waue; and Billow Billow shoues,
> So doe all Nations iustell each the other,
> And so one people doe pursue another,
> And scarce a second hath the first vnhoused,
> Before a third him thence againe haue roused.

Amongst the multitude of these seuerall Relations, it appears Captaine *Nuse* seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, cause as much Corne to be planted as he could at *Elizabeths* city, and though some destroyed that they had set, fearing

it would serue the Saluages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or fr m *England*, which hath euer beene one cause of our miseries, for from *England* wee haue not had much, and for trading, euery one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and prouisions to performe it, and those that haue, vse them onely for their owne priuate gaine, not the publicke good, so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the euent of the next. Here wee will leaue Captaine *Nuse* for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine *Norton*, a valiant industrious Gentlemen, adorned with many good qualities besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all *gratis*, but most bountifully to the poore; and let vs speake a little of Captaine *Croshaw* amongst the midst of those broiles in in the Riuer of *Patawomeke*.

Being in a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, vnder the command of Captaine *Spilman*, at *Cekacawone*, a Saluage stole aboord them, and told them of the Massacre, and that *Opechankanough* had plotted with his King and Country to betray them also, which they refused, but them of *Wighcocomoco* at the mouth of the riuer had vndertaken it; vpon this *Spilman* went thither, but the Saluages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected themselues discouered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, *Croshaw* went to *Patawomek*, where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe, by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine, and director against the *Pazaticans*, the *Nacotchtunks*, and *Moyaons* his mortall enemies. Of this opportunity *Croshaw* was glad, as well to satisfie his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to *Opechancanough*, and adhere him vnto vs, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely *Elis Hill* stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to *Elizabeths* City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in *England*.

It was no small grief to the Councell and Company, to vnderstand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible: and yet hauing such warnings, especially by the death of *Ne*

mattanow, whom the Saluages did thinke was shot-free, as he had perswaded them, hauing so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt. But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble aduenturers, nor diuers others still to vndertake new seuerall Plantations, but that diuers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient. Yet Captaine *Smith* did intreat and moue them to put in practice his old offer, seeing now it was time to vse both it and him, how slenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was.

The proiect and offer of Captaine Iohn Smith, *to the Right* Honourable, and Right Worshipfull Company of *Virginia*.

If you please I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next *Michaelmas*, with victuall, munition, and such necessary prouision, by Gods assistance, we would endeuour to inforce the Saluages to leaue their Country, or bring them in that feare and subiection that euery man should follow their businesse securely, whereas now halfe their times and labours are spent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether vnable to suppresse the Saluages, because euery man now being for himselfe will be vnwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horses for all the rest, without any certainty of some better reward and preferment then I can vnderstand any there can or will yet giue them.

These I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Saluages, and that they should be as a running Army till this were effected, and then settle themselues in some such couenient place, that should euer remaine a garison of that strength, ready vpon any occasion against the Saluages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to see all the English well armed, and instruct them their vse. But I would haue a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build sixe or seuen Shalops, to transport them where there should bee occasion.

Towards the charge, because it is for the generall good, and what by the massacre and other accidents, *Virginia* is disparaged, and many men and their purses much discouraged, how euer a great many doe hasten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former losses, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leauing those gilded conceits, and diue into the true estate of the Colony; I thinke if his Maiestie were truly informed of their necessitie, and the benefit of this proiect, he would be pleased to giue the custome of *Virginia*, and the Planters also according to their abilities would adde thereto such a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this garison till they be able to subsist, or cause some such other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice; otherwise it is much to be doubted, there will neither come custome, nor any thing from thence to *England* within these few yeares.

Now if this should be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient Souldiers there bred, then such new commers as may goe with me: you may please to leaue that to my discretion, to accept or refuse such volumaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trials of these euents, and discharge such of my company that had rather labour the ground then subdue their enemies: what releefe I should haue from your Colony I would satisfie and spare them (when I could) the like courtesie. Notwithstanding these doubts, I hope to feede them as well as defend them, and yet discouer you more land vnknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me such priuiledges as of necessity must be vsed.

For against any enemy we must be ready to execute the best can be deuised by your estate there, but not that they shall either take away my men, or any thing else to imploy as they please by vertue of their authority, and in that I haue done somewhat for *New-England* as well as *Virginia*, so I would desire liberty and authority to make the best vse I can of my best experiences, within the limits of those two Patents, and to bring them both in one Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giuing alwaies that respect to the Gouernors and gouernment, as an Englishman doth in *Scotland*, or a Scotchman in *England*, or as the regiments in the Low-countries doe to the Gouernors of the Townes and Cities where they are billetted, or in Garrison, where though they liue with them, and are as their seruants to defend them, yet

not to be disposed on at their pleasure, but as the Prince and State doth command them, and for my owne paines in particular I aske not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Saluages.

Their Answer.

I CANNOT say, it was generally for the Company, for being published in their Court, the most that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and some would haue been very large Aduenturers in it, especially Sir *Iohn Brookes* and Master *Dauid Wyffin*, but there were such diuisions amongst them, I could obtaine no answer but this, the charge would be too great: their stocke was decayed, and they did thinke the Planters should doe that of themselues if I could finde meanes to effect it: they did thinke I might haue leaue of the Company, prouided they might haue halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much striue for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at some time of the yeere is to be had, I would not gine twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongst the Saluages in twenty yeeres: but because they supposed I spake only for my owne ends, it were good those vnderstand prouidents for the Companies good they so much talke of, were sent thither to make triall of their profound wisdomes and long experiences.

About this time also was propounded a proposition concerning a Sallery of fiue and twenty thousand pounds to bee raised out of Tobacco, as a yeerly pension to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting of a new office, concerning the sole importation of Tobacco, besides his Maiesties custome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate the vndertakers, fauourers and opposers, with their arguments *(pro)* and *(con)* would bee too tedious and needlesse being so publikely knowne: the which to establish, spent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. This made many thinke wonders of *Virginia*, to pay such pensions extraordinary to a few here that were neuer there, and also in what state and pompe some Chieftaines and diuers of their associates liue in *Virginia*, and yet no money to maintaine a Garrison, pay poore men their wages, nor yet fiue and twenty pence to all the aduenturers here, and very little to the

most part of their Planters there, bred such differences in opinion it was dissolued.

Now let vs returne to Captaine *Croshaw* at *Patawomek*, where he had not beene long ere *Opechancanough* sent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, assuring him of the Massacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries: this fearfull message the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had seene both the cowardise and trechery of *Opechancanough* sufficiently tried by Captaine *Smith*, therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his fauour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne swords; if he were slaine, he would leaue a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings; two daies the King deliberated vpon an answer, at last told him the English were his friends, and the Saluage Emperour *Opitchapam* now called *Toyatan*, was his brother. therefore there should be no bloud shed betwixt them, so hee returned the Presents, willing the *Pamavukes* to come no more in his Country, lest the English, though against his will, should doe them any mischiefe.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to seeke out some releefe amongst the Plantations, by *Nuports-news* met such ill weather, though the men were saued they lost their boat, which the storme and waues cast vpon the shore of *Nandsamund*, where *Edward Waters* one of the three that first stayed in Summer Iles, and found the great peece of Amber-greece, dwelling in *Virginia* at this Massacre, hee and his wife these *Nandsamunds* kept prisoners till it chanced they found this Boat, at which purchase they so reioyced, according to their custome of triumph, with songs, dances and inuocations, they were so busied, that *Waters* and his wife found opportunity to get secretly in their Canow, and so crossed the Riuer to *Kecoughtan*, which is nine or ten miles, whereat the English no lesse wondred and reioyced. then the Saluages were maddded with discontent. Thus you may see how many desperate dangers some men escape, when others die that haue all things at their pleasure.

All men thinking Captaine *Croshaw* dead, Captaine *Hamar* arriuing with a Ship and a Pinnace at *Patawomeke*, was kindly entertained both by him and the King: that *Don Hamar* told the King he came for Corne: the King replied hee

had none, but the *Nacotchtanks* and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would giue them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Saluages with some of the English they sent, who so well played their parts, they slew 18. of the *Nacotchtanks*, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them: where the *Patawomeks* were so eager of reuenge, they driue them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to *Patawomek*, where they left Captaine *Croshaw*, with foure men more, the rest set saile for *Iames* towne. Captaine *Croshaw* now with fiue men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a conuenient place, that with the helpe of the Saluages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine *Nuse* his Pinnace meeting *Hamar* by the way vnderstanding all this, came to see Captaine *Croshaw:* after their best enterchanges of courtesies, *Croshaw* writ to *Nuse* the estate of the place where he was, but vnderstanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send him but a bold Shallop, with men, armes and prouision for trade, the next Haruest he would prouide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of Iune, there was little or none in all the Country.

This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the rest, they sent Captaine *Madyson* with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those *Croshaw* a good time taught the vse of their armes, but receiuing a letter from *Boyse* his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at *Pamauke*, to vse meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to *Iames* towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to *Pamauke*, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade *Opachankanough* to send two of his with two of the *Patawomekes*, to treat about those prisoners, and he should remaine their hostage at *Pamauke;* but the Commanders, at *Iames* towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the *Patawomekes* backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine *Croshaw* to his owne habitation.

All this time we haue forgot Captaine *Nuse*, where we left him but newly acquainted with the Massacre, calling all his next adioyning dispersed neighbours together, he regarded not the pestring his owne house, nor any thing to releeue them, and with all speed entrenched himselfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, so that within 14. daies, he was strong enough to defend himselfe from all the Saluages, yet when victuall grew scant, some that would forrage without order, which he punished, neere occasioned a mutiny. Notwithstanding, he behaued himselfe so fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houses for them he daily expected from *England*, a faire Well of fresh water mantled with bricke, because the Riuer and Cricks are there brackish or salt; in all which things he plaied the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were steeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many sicknesses, and at last a Dropsie, no lesse griefe to himselfe, then sorrow to his Wife and all vnder his gouernment. These crosses and losses were no small increasers of his malady, nor the thus abandoning our Plantations, the losse of our Haruest, and also Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyetours had brought to a good forwardnesse, bruised and destroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, disorderly persons or wild beasts: so that as we are I cannot perceiue but the next yeere will be worse, being still tormented with pride and flattery, idlenesse and couetousnesse, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the pestilent vices in the world for their attendants, inchanted with a conceited statelinesse, euen in the very bottome of miserable senselesnesse.

Shortly after, Sir *George Yearly* and Captaine *William Powel*, tooke each of them a company of well disposed Gentlemen and others to seeke their enemies. *Yearley* ranging the shore of *Weanock*, could see nothing but their old houses which he burnt, and went home: *Powel* searching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whose heads he cut off, burnt their houses, and so returned; for the Saluages are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they haue much aduantage of vs though they be cowards.

I confesse this is true, and it may cause some suppose they are grown inuincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knows not though there be monsters both of men and beasts, fish and fowle, yet the greatest, the strongest, the wildest, cruellest, fiercest and cunningest, by reason, art and vigilancy, courage and industry hath beene slaine, subiected or made tame, and those are still but Saluages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne simplicities, and still will be worse and worse till they be tormented with a continuall pursuit, and not with lying inclosed within Palizadoes, or affrighting them out of your sights, thinking they haue done well, can but defend themselues: and to doe this to any purpose, will require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings.

About the latter end of Iune, Sir *George Yearley* accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greatest Gallants in the Land, stayed three or foure daies with Captaine *Nuse*, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongst them for want of prouision for his Company, the great Commander replied hee should turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plump and fat: these fields being so neere the Fort, were better regarded and preserued then the rest. but the great mans command, as we call them, was quickly obeied, for though it was scarce halfe growne either to the greatnesse or goodnesse, they deuoured it greene though it did them small good. Sir *George* with his company went to *Accomack* to his new Plantation, where he staied neere six weekes; some Corne he brought home, but as he aduentured for himselfe, he accordingly enioyed the benefit; some pety Magazines came this Summer, but either the restraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, caused few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them. So long as Captaine *Nuse* had any thing we had part: but now all being spent, and the people forced to liue vpon Oisters and Crabs, they became so faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the case is altered, to no meat, no worke; some small quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would distribute *gratis* as he saw occasion; I say *gratis*, for I know no place else, but it was sold for ready paiment: those eares of Corne that had escaped till August, though not ripe by reason of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to

seeke them as the men till they were hanged; and this I protest before God is true that I haue related, not to flatter *Nuse*, nor condemne any, but all the time I haue liued in *Virginia*, I haue not seene nor heard that any Commander hath taken such continuall paines for the publike, or done so little good for himselfe, and his vertuous wife was no lesse charitable and compassionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither *Mulberies* planted, houses built, men or victuall prouided, as the honourable Adventurers did promise mee in *England;* yet at my owne charge, hauing made these preparations, and the silke-Wormes ready to be couered, all was lost, but my poore life and children, by the Massacre, the which as God in his mercy did preserue, I continually pray we may spend to his glory. The 9. of September, we had an alarum, and two men at their labours slaine; the Captaine, though extreme sicke, sallied forth, but the Saluages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they destroyed all they could, and killed two men more, much mischiefe they did to Master *Edward Hills* cattle, yet he alone defended his house though his men were sicke and could doe nothing, and this was our first assault since the Massacre.

About this time Captaine *Madyson* passed by vs, hauing taken Prisoners, the King of *Patawomek*, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened; *Madyson* not liking so well to liue amongst the Saluages as *Croshaw* did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like *Poole* the Interpreter: many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: *Madyson* before his building went to *Moyaones*, where hee got prouision for a moneth, and was promised much more, so he returned to *Patawomek* and built this house, and was well vsed by the Saluages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to *Pamaruke* for the redemption of the Prisoners, *Madyson* sent them a letter, but they could neither deliuer it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad vsage, that he swore by the Skies, if they returned not well, he would haue warres with *Opechankanough* so long as he had any thing: at this time two of *Madysons* men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master *John Upton* and three more with an Indian guide to *Nazatica*, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country

by the *Necosts*, enemies to the *Patawomeks;* this expulsed King though he professed much loue to the *Patawomeks*, yet he loued not the King because he would not helpe him to reuenge his iniuries. but to our Interpreter *Poole* hee protested great loue, promising if any treason were, he would reueale it; our guide conducted this *Bandyto* with them vp to *Patawomek* and there kept him; our Fugitiues we found the *Patawomeks* had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from *Pamavuke;* not long after, this expulsed King desired priuate conference with *Poole*, vrging him to sweare by his God neuer to reueale what he would tell him, *Poole* promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to *Pamavuke*, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with *Opechankanough* how to kill you all here, and these are their plots.

First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set vpon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers would trade their Furres, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set vpon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Coniurer.

This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually vpon our guard, at which the Saluages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the *Pamavukes*, whereat they seemed contented, and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from *Iames* towne with the two Saluages, sent home with Captaine *Croshaw:* by those the Gouernour sent to *Madyson*, that this King should send him twelue of his great men: word of this was sent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, *Madyson* conceited hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason.—The next morning the King comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to *Iames* towne, the King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leaue him destitute of aid, hauing so many enemies

about him; the Captaine told him he would leaue a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelue great men for the Gouernour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them, then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne, said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall haue, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, wherevpon *Madyson* went forth and locked the doore, leauing the King, his sonne, and foure Saluages, and fiue English men in the strong house, and setting vpon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children; the King demanding the cause, *Poole* told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but hauing slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend. Then *Madyson* willed him to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboord, which he presently did, and it was performed: so *Madyson* departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to *Iames* towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine *Hamar*, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this
They vnderstood, nor knew what was amisse.

Euer since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of *Spaine* would inuade them, or our English Papists indeuour to dissolue them. But neither all the Counsels of *Spaine*, nor Papists in the world could haue deuised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there euer haue beene a better plot, to haue ouerthrowne *Opechankanough* then Captaine *Chroshaws*, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see *Virginia* made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer little was done, but securing themselues and planting Tobacco.

which passes there as current Siluer. and by the oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore, notwithstanding ten or twelue ships or more hath arriued there since the massacre, although it was Christmas ere any returned, and that returne greatly reuiued all mens longing expectation here in *England:* for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recouered, and finding the Saluages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no reuenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leaue their priuate businesse, and aduenture themselues amongst the Saluages to surprize their Corne, vnder the conduct of Sir *George Yearley*: being imbarked in conuenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprize, they went first to *Nandsamund*, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry: so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for reuenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses remained vnburnt, and so departed. Quartering about *Kecoughtan*, after the Watch was set, *Samuell Collyer* one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Gouernor of a Towne, when the Watch was set going the round, vnfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine.

Thence they sailed to *Pamaueke*, the chiefe seat of *Opechankanough*, the contriuer of the massacre: the Saluages seemed exceeding feare full, promising to bring them *Sara*, and the rest of the English yet liuing, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to giue them any satisfaction they could. Many such deuices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelue daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places vp the Riuer, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Saluages that fled before them, some few of those naked Deuils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of

English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went to make themselues sport: so they escaped, and Sir *George* returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enioyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges. Thus by this meanes the Saluages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully reuenged of the Saluages before they returned, I know not: nor could euer heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy *Ferdinando Courtus* had scarce three hundred *Spaniards* to conquer the great Citie of *Mexico*, where thousands of Saluages dwelled in strong houses: but because they were a ciuilized people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts haue nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion, which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not liue to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter vsefull for some, but howsoeuer I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would haue sent first one hundred to Captaine *Rawley Chroshaw* to *Patawomek*, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would haue struck that loue and admiration into the *Patawomeks*, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated vpon the other side the Riuer, they would willingly haue beene friends, or haue giuen any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them, Captaine *Argall*, *Croshaw*, nor *Hamor*, neuer found themselues in fifteene yeares trials: nor is it likely now they would haue so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany: but suppose they had, who would haue desired a better aduantage then such an aduertisement, to haue prepared

the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but fiue men in it durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too iealous as too carelesse; Such another Lope Skonce would I haue had at *Onawmanient*, and one hundred men more to haue made such another at *Atquacke* vpon the Riuer of *Toppahanock*, which is not past thirteene miles distant from *Onawmanient:* each of which twelue men would keepe, as well as twelue thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily haue beene done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to euery creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall. This done, there remained yet one hundred who should haue done the like at *Ozinieke*, vpon the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, not past six miles from the chiefe habitations of *Opechankanough*. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Riuers to looke to themselues. Then hauing so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in *Virginia* as there was at that present, with what facility might you haue landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely fiue or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of *Mattapanyent*, fortie more that of *Youghtanund*, and fortie more to keepe their randeuous at *Pamaueke* it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or fiue houres, and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour, discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For hauing thus so many conuenient randeuous to releeue each other, though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses vpon all those Riuers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not liue, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their liues, as either fly all their Countries, or giue all they had to be released of such an hourely misery. Now if but a small number of the Saluages would

assist vs, as there is no question but diuers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleeue they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best gouerned people in the world; All the *Pamunkes* might haue beene dispatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to haue dealt with any other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with myselfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaies, and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath been related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine *Crashow*, *Hamar*, and *Madyson*, they are not growne to that excellency and policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wiues and children apprehended. I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe, but I care not much, because the iudiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, haue writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for medling with so many Plantations together, because they that haue many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no, if they haue men enow know how to worke them: but howsoeuer, it were better some burne then haue none at all. The King of *Spaine* regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes vnder his obedience, and for the Salvage Countries he hath subiected, they are more then enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate, and is three Molehills so much to vs; and so many Empires so little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuse but grieue, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of *England* should not be as great as any Monarchy that euer was since the world began. I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppresse her disturbers, and conquer her enemies.

For the great *Romans* got into their hand
The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land,
Or any seas, or heauen, or earth extended,
And yet that Nation could not be contented.

Much about this time arriued a small Barke of *Barnestable*, which had beene at the *Summer Iles*, and in her Captaine *Nathaniel Butler*, who hauing beene Gouernor there three yeares, and his Commission expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ship to see *Virginia:* at *James* Towne he was kindly entertained by Sir *Francis Wyat* the Gouernor. After he had rested there fourteene daies, he fell vp with his ship to the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, where meeting Captaine *William Powell*, ioyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set vpon the *Chickahamanians*, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them. Thus he returned to *James* towne, where hee staied a moneth, at *Kecoughtan* as much more, and so returned for *England*.

But riding at *Kecoughtan*. M. *Iohn Argent*, sonne to Doctor *Argent*, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine *Butler* from *England* to this place, *Michael Fuller*, *William Gany*, *Cornelius May*, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire euening, such a sudden gust did arise, that driue them thwart the Riuer. in that place at least three or foure miles in bredth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating vpon the Sands, they left her, wading neere halfe a mile, and oft vp to the chin: so well it hapned, Master *Argent* had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next God was all their preseruations: for it being February, and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone he had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master *Argents* chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaues, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being vpon the *Chisapeaks* shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discouered. The ioyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods driue ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was vnseruiceable: but so much was the frost, their clothes did freeze vpon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloudy Saluages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day, and the next night digging a graue in the Sands with their hands, buried him. In this bodily feare they lived and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get

some meale and oyle. *Argent* and his Comrade found a Canow, in which they resolued to aduenture to their ship, but shee was a drift in the Riuer before they returned: thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine *Butler* the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets, but they supposing it some Saluages had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then euer, so he returned and lost his labour. The fourth day they vnloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefs, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew vpon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselues happy to be on shore againe, though they perceiued the *Indians* were not farre off by their fires. Thus at the very period of despaire, *Fuller* vndertooke to sit a stride vpon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the winde and tide serued, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him three or foure houres vpon this boord, he arriued at their ship, where they no lesse amazed then he tired, they tooke him in. Presently as he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped, which gaue no lesse comfort to Master *Argent* and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an vnexpected alarum: but after, with warme clothes and a little strong water, they had a little recouered him, such was his courage and care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master *Felgate* to conduct him to them, and so giuing thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliuerance, it pleased his Diuine power, both they and their prouision came safely aboord, but *Fuller* they doubt will neuer recouer his benumbed legs and thighes.

Now before *Butlers* arriuall in *England*, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leaning his charge, before he receiued order from the Company: Diuers against his Souldiers highly commended him, for his good gouernment, art, iudgement and industry. But to make the misery of *Virginia* appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glass-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes, Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in

words and paper then in effect, with diuers reasons of the causes of those defects: if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the gouernment, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but howeuer, it were not amisse to prouide for the worst, for the best will helpe it selfe.— Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the brute thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the vnwholsomenesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey, as though all *England* were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are vnhealthy: or barren, because some will lie vnder windowes and starue in Cheap-side, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any where, and vse a thousand deuices to maintaine themselues in those miseries, rather then take any paines, to liue as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of *Virginia*, and partly the occasion of those defailements.

In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine *Henrie Spilman* a Gentleman, that hath liued in those Countries thirteene or foureteene yeares, one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the Riuer of *Patawomek*, where he had liued a long time amongst the Saluages: whether hee presumed too much vpon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be reuenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately, or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all seuerall relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for they returned report they left him ashore about *Patawomek*, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but fiue in the Barke, the Saluages ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gaue fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Saluages leapt ouer-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore: and presently after they heard a great brute amoug the Saluages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke, whereupon they weigh-

ed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is vncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a iot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

A particular of such necessaries as either priuate families, or single persons, shall haue cause to prouide to goe to Virginia, whereby greater numbers may in part conceiue the better how to prouide for themselues.

Apparell.

	£	s.	d.
A monmoth Cap.		1	10
3 falling bands.		1	3
3 shirts.		7	6
1 Waste-coat.		2	2
1 suit of Canuase.		7	6
1 suit of Frize.		10	
1 suit of Cloth.		15	
3 paire of Irish stockings.		4	
4 paire of shooes.		8	8
1 paire of garters.			10
1 dozen points.			3
1 paire of Canuas sheets.		8	
7 ells of Canuas to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia*, seruing for two men.		8	
5 ells of course Canuas to make a bed at Sea for two men.		5	
1 course rug at sea for two men.		6	
	£4		

Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.

	£	s.	d.
8 bushels of meale.	2		
2 bushels of pease.		6	
2 bushels of Otemeale.		9	

	£	s.	d.
1 gallon of *Aquavitæ.*		2	6
1 gallon of oyle.		3	6
2 gallons of Vineger.		2	
	£3	3	

Armes for a man, but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all have swords and peeces.

	£	s.	d.
1 Armor complete, light.		17	
1 long peece five foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore.	1	2	
1 Sword.		5	
1 Belt.		1	
1 Bandilier.		1	6
20 pound of powder.		18	
60 pound of shot or Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot.		5	
	£3	9	6

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more

	£	s.	d.
5 broad howes at 2*s.* a peece.		10	
5 narrow howes at 16*d.* a peece,		6	8
2 broad axes at 3*s.* 8*d.* a peece.		7	4
5 felling axes at 18*d.* a peece.		7	6
2 steele handsawes at 16*d.* a peece.		2	8
2 two handsawes at 5*s.* a peece.		10	
1 whipsaw, set and filed, with box, file and wrest.		10	
2 hammers 12*d.* a peece.		2	
3 shouels 18*d.* a peece.		4	6
2 spades at 18*d.* a peece.		3	
2 Augers at 6*d.* a peece.		1	
6 Chissels at 6*d.* a peece.		3	
2 Percers stocked 4*d.* a peece.			8
3 Gimblets at 2*d.* a peece.			6
2 Hatchets at 21*d.* a peece.		3	6
3 frowes to cleaue pale 18*d.* each.		3	

	£	s.	d.
2 hand Bills 20*d.* a peece. - - -		3	4
1 Grindstone. - - - - - - -		4	
Nailes of all sorts to the value of - -	2		
2 Pickaxes. - - - - - - -		3	
	£6	2	8

Household implements for a family and six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

	£	s.	d.
1 Iron pot. - - - - - - -		7	
1 Kettell. - - - - - - -		6	
1 large Frying-pan. - - - - - -		2	6
1 Gridiron. - - - - - - -		1	6
2 Skellets - - - - - - -		5	
1 Spit. - - - - - - - -		2	
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood. - - -		4	
	£1	8	

For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, and at Sea for six men. - - - - - - - - -		12	6
So the full charge after this rate for each person, will amount about the summe of - -	1	10	
The passage of each man is - - -	6		
The fraught of these provisions for a man, will be about halfe a tun, which is - - -	12	10	10
So the whole charge will amount to about -	£20		

Now if the number be great, Nets, Hooks and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added. And this is the vsuall proportion the *Virginia* Company doe bestow vpon their Tenents they send.

A briefe relation written by Captaine Smith *to his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of* Virginia, *concerning some aspersions against it.*

HONOURABLE Gentlemen, for so many faire and Nauigable Riuers so neere adioyning, and pierceing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny vnwholesome Marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes and Wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebb nor floud, Nature in few places affoords any so conuenient, for salt Marshes or Quagmires. In this tract of *Iames* Towne Riuer I know very few: some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable then hurtfull: and I think there is more low Marsh ground betwixt *Erifie* and *Chelsey*, then *Kecoughtan* and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the Riuer.

Being inioyned by our Commission not to vnplant nor wrong the Saluages, because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is *Iames* Towne, then a thicke groue of trees: wee cut them downe, where the Saluages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of vs in two houres: At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little better stuffe in bread for fiue men a meale, and thus we liued neere three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the Saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor vnderstood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die.

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Saluages, that we got provision which recouered the rest being most sicke. Six weekes I was led captiue by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled, yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the meanes to returne me safe to *Iames* towne, and releeue our wants, and then our Commonwealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fiue.

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I spent fourteene weeks in those large waters: the contents of the way of my boat protracted

by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the Riuer we dwell vpon, where no Christian knowne euer was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from *England* we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions, cause *Powhatan* fly his Countrey, and take the King of *Pamaueke* Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of *Paspahegh* in shackles, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages sent to *Iames* towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares I staid there, I had not a man slaine.

All those conclusions being not able to preuent the bad euents of pride and idlenesse, hauing receiued another supply of seuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from *England* to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat, but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon Oysters in Iune and Iuly, with a pint of corne a week for a man lying vnder trees, and 120 for the most part liuing vpon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but seuen died.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, and Munition sufficient, some *Aquauitæ*, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Oatmeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths, though by the bils of loading the proportions sent vs, would well haue contented vs, notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainskot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Sassafras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut, crowned *Powhatan*, sought the *Monacans* Countrey, according to the instructions sent vs, but they caused vs neglect more necessary workes: they had better haue giuen for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in *Denmarke:* Wee also maintained fiue or six seuerall Plantations.

Iames towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three Forts more, besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or sixtie seuerall houses to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed with a palizado of fourteene or fifteene foot, and

each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twenty peece of Ordnance, of Culuerin, Demiculuerin, Sacar and Falcon, and most well mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes. planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men. boies. and women, by whose labours *Virginia* being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes: yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission. tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew vs nor wee them, without our consent or knowledge; since there haue gone more then one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people. Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent, sent, discouered and done this fifteene yeares, by that we did in the three first yeares, and euery Gouernour that hath beene there since. giue you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in *Virginia*.

Then came in Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Sedan*, in a ship of Master *Cornelius*, to fish for Sturgion, who had such good prouision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished then euer.

Not long after came in seuen ships, with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant vs then supply vs. their Admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the *Bermudas*, very angry they were we had made no better prouision for them. Seuen or eight weekes we withstood the inundations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for *England*.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seuen Boats, Commodities to trade, haruest newly gathered, eight weeks prouision of Corne and Meale, about fiue hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot, powder, and match, with armes for more men then we had. The Saluages their language and habitation, well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six Mares and a Horse, fiue or six hundred Swine,

many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but victuall there remained.

Hauing spent some fiue yeares, and more then fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c.— Thus these nineteene yeares I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue been prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue been there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence, and beare with their errors till I haue done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, vpon such grounds as I haue propounded, which is to haue but fifteene hundred men to subdue againe the Saluages, fortifie the Countrey, discouer that yet vnknowne, and both defend and feed their Colony, which I most humbly refer to his Maiesties most iudiciall iudgement, and the most honourable Lords of his Priuy Councell, you his trusty and well-beloued Commissioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to *Virginia*, *New England* and *Sommer-Ilands*.

Out of these Obseruations it pleased his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, to desire my answer to *these seuen Questions.*

Quest. 1. *What conceiue you is the cause the Plantation hath prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardnesse?*

Answ. Idlenesse and carelesnesse brought all I did in three yeeres in six moneths to nothing, and of fiue hundred I left, scarce threescore remained, and had Sir *Thomas Gates* not got from the *Bermudas*, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

Quest. 2. *What conceiue you should be the cause, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco?*

Answ. The oft altering of Gouernours it seemes causes euery man make vse of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell; and Tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things: now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they haue Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. *What conceiue you to haue beene the cause of the Massacre, and had the Saluages had the vse of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Answ. The cause of the Massacre was the want of marshall discipline, and because they would haue all the English had by destroying those they found so carelesly secure, that they were not prouided to defend themselues against any enemy, being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine *Nuport* furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitiues did the like, and some Peeces they got accidentally, yet I got the most of them againe, and it was death to him that should shew a Saluage the vse of a Peece.—Since I vnderstand they became so good shot, they were imployed for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. *What charge thinke you would haue setled the gouernment both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Answ. Twenty thousand pound would haue hired good labourers and mechanicall men, and haue furnished them with cattell and all necessaries, and 100. of them would haue done more then a thousand of those that went, though the Lord *Lawarre*, Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Sir *Thomas Gates* snd Sir *Thomas Dale* were perswaded to the contrary, but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. *What conceiue you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Answ. The remedy is to send Souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next *Michaelmas*, the which to doe well will stand you in fiue thousand pound, but if his Maiesty would please to lend two of his Ships to transport them, lesse would serue, besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the gouernment both here and there?*

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action: besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, hauing six pounds for euery Passenger, and three pounds for euery tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, prouisions and Magazines, whereby the ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality, for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. As for the letters of aduice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeue there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they haue beene euer much subiect; and there not to beleeue, or not to releeue the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their aduentures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice: but it is so with all men: but howsoeuer they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others haue not onely spent the most of their

estates, but the most part haue lost their liues and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions, and he that now will adventure but twelve pounds ten shillings, shall haue better respect and as much favour than he that sixteene yeare agoe aduentured as much, except he have money as the other hath, but though he haue aduentured fiue hundred pound, and spent there neuer so much time, if hee haue no more and not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new deuices haue consumed both money and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more than a thousand, then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then a hundred ; I speak not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers, which did they manage their owne estates no better than the affaires of *Virginia*, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it; but this is most euident, few Officers in *England* it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would leaue their places, neither yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home, but fewer Aduenturers here will adventure any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improuident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselues, they die or liue but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can releeue them were two much simplicity; for who here in *England* is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, haue they neuer so much; much lesse in *Virginia* where they want for themselues. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, couetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please, yea euen men, women and children for who will giue most, occasions no small mischiefe amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, prouided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receiue their charges againe with aduantage, or that masters there should not haue the same priuilege ouer their seruants as here, but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent ouer for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be main-

tained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits sutable, therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselues, then suffered any longer to vse that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well seated Common-wealth to misery, much more *Virginia.*

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his Maiestie would please to intitle it to his Crowne, and yearely that both the Gouernours here and there may giue their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in maintaining one hundred men for the Gouernour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treasurer, fiue and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marshall and other Officers who were neuer there nor aduentured any thing, but onely preferred by fauour to be Lords ouer them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe, if any thing happen well, it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not fiue hundred of them haue so much as one of the others; also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a Garrison to suppresse the Saluages, till they be able to subsist, and that his Maiesty would please to remit his custome, or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them, not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in *England*, yet when the foundation is laid, as I haue said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour then here: but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaushed people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly, and knowes what he vnder-takes, for there is no Countrey to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the gouernment I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, men here conceiting *Virginia* as they are, erecting as many stately Offices as Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey, where a Constable were as good as twenty of their Captaines, and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the rest that goe onely to get the fruits o

other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend *Michaelmas* rent in *Mid-summer* Moone, and would gather their Haruest before they haue planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the first that went neuer demanded any, but aduentured good summes, and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours, besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall Officers could not maintaine themselues so well as the old did; and hauing now such liberty to doe as to the Saluages what they will; the others had not. I more then wonder they haue not fiue hundred Saluages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance, and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction to the Aduenturers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints; therefore vnder your correction to rectifie all, is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releeue them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined. And except his Maiestie vndertake it, or by act of Parliament some small tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny vpon euery Poll, called a head-penny; two pence vpon euery Chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to giue a good stocke and many seruants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of *England*, and such duties to the publike good as their estates increased, reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their lines there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeare, then all those pety particular vndertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he please, rather take it from them that haue it, then from vs who had it first, pretending to his Maiesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did, and for any thing I can conceiue, had we remained still as at first, it is not likely we could haue done much worse; but those oft altering of gouernments are not without much charge, hazard and losse. If I be too plaine, I humbly craue your pardon: but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their Purses and assistances many of

them haue beene to aduance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferior persons, amongst whom questionlesse also many haue done their vtmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and vnderstanding; yet grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault; for my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to look into any mans particular, but those in generall I conceiue to be true. And so I humbly rest

Yours to command, I. S.

Thus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselues, nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir *William Iones*, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Goston*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *Henry Bourgchier* and Sir *William Pit:* a Corante was granted against Master Deputy *Farrar*, and 20. or 30. others of that party to plead their causes before the right Honourable, the Lords of his Maiesties Priuy Councell: now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoeuer came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre vnsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preseruation of the Colony, as to giue content and doe all men right, they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony. Vpon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Maiestie to suppresse the course of the Court at Deputy *Farrars*, and that for the present ordering the affairs of *Virginia*, vntill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount *Mandeuile*, Lord President of his Maiesties Priuie Councell, and also other Priuy Councellors, with many vnderstanding Knights and Gentlemen, should euery Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir *Thomas Smiths* in *Philpot lane*, where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receiue such directions and warrant for their better security, as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect, vnder the great Seale of *England*, dated the 15. of Iuly, 1624. But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they haue, what fortifications or discoueries they haue made, or reuenge vpon the Saluages; who are their friends or foes,

or what Commodities they haue more then Tobacco, and their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution, in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolued in the other, at this present time when this went to the Presse, I must entreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant for all my paines this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections. To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue conceal'd their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would iudge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I must leaue all to the triall of time, both my selfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings and good euents, praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserueth, and my heart desireth.

FINIS.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

OF THE

BERMVDAS,

NOW CALLED

THE SUMMER ILES,

FROM THEIR BEGINNING IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORD 1593. TO THIS PRESENT 1624.
WITH THEIR PROCEEDINGS, ACCIDENTS AND PRESENT ESTATE.

BEFORE we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted, for as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion, so History without Geography, wandereth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation. Those Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, situated in 32. degrees and 25. minutes, of Northerly latitude, and distant from *England* West South-West, about 3300. miles, some twenty miles in length, and not past two miles and a halfe in breadth, enuironed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, West-ward, and South-East, extend further then they haue bin yet well discouered: by reason of those Rocks the Country is naturally very strong, for there is but two places, and scarce two, vnlesse to them who know them well, where shipping may safely come in, and those now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in most places appeare at a low water, neither are they much couered at high, for it ebbs and flowes not past fiue foot: the shore for most part is a Rocke, so hardned with the Sunne, wind and sea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waues, whose violence is also broke by the Rocks before they can come to the shore:

it is very vneuen, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale is the best: vnder the mould two or three foot deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kinde of white hard substance which they call the Rocke: the trees vsually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then Chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily receiuing and containing much water. In some places Clay is found under it, it seemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one vpon another, through which the water hath his passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leauing the salt behinde, it becomes fresh: sometimes we digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the superficies of the sea, and in some places very strange, darke and cumbersome Caues.

The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better: by this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkies, within the space of three or foure yeers, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so liue in great abundance: the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene; the Cause is the same they haue in *Virginia*, and the *West-Indies:* of this and many other things

without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere, for they set about March, which they gather in Iuly: and againe in August, which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vsually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse: but we finde not the grapes as yet come to any perfection; the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons, Pomgranates, and other things. Concerning the serenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be said of those Ilands as euer it was said of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in some houre thereof, the sun lookes singularly and cleere vpon them: for the temperature it is beyond all others most admirable; no cold there is beyond an English Aprill, nor heat much greater then an ordinary Iuly in *France*, so that frost and snow is neuer seene here, nor stinking and infectious mists very seldome; by reason of the maine Ocean, there is some wind stirring that cooles the aire: the winter they haue obserues the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

We found it at first all ouergrowne with weeds, and plants of generall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes, numbers of Mulberies, wild Oliue-trees store, with diuers others vnknowne both by name and nature, so that as yet they become lost to many vsefull imployments, which time and industry no doubt will one day discouer, and euen already certaine of the most notorious of them haue gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as the Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a small greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of iuice; with graines not much vnlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature. The poysoned weed is much in shape like our English Iuy, but being but touched, causeth rednesse, itching; and lastly blisters, the which howsoeuer after a while passe away of themselues without further harme, yet because for the time they are somewhat painfull, it hath got itselfe an ill name, although questionlesse of no ill nature. Here is also frequently growing a certaine tall Plant, whose stalke being all ouer couered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed, the root whereof being soked in any liquor, or but a

small quantity of the Iuice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally vsed by the people, and found very effectuall against the paines and distempers of the stomacke.

A kinde of Wood-bind there is likewise by the Sea very commonly to be found, which runnes vpon trees twining it selfe like a Vine: the fruit somewhat resembles a Beane, but somewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all perill: Contrary to this, another small tree there is, which causeth costiuenesse; there is also a certaine Plant like a bramble bush, which bears a long yellow fruit, hauing the shell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken inwardly purgeth gently. There is another fruit much like our Barberies, which being beaten or brused betweene the teeth, sets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to auoid which they are swallowed downe hole, and found of the same or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name.— In the bottome of the Sea there is growing vpon the Rocks a large kinde of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe, but far more spread with veines in colour of a pale red, very strangely interlaced and wouen one into another, which we call the Feather, but the vertue thereof is altogether vnknowne, but only regarded for the rarity. Now besides these naturall productions, prouidences and paines since the Plantation, haue offered diuers other seeds and plants, which the soile hath greedily imbraced and cherished, so that at this present 1628. there are great abundance of white, red and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, and the most delicate Pine-apples, Plantans, and Papawes, also the English Artichoke, Pease, &c. briefly whatsoeuer else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight.

Neither hath the aire for her part been wanting with due supplies of many sorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Heerne, the gray and greene Plouer, some wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-shankes, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds like Sparrowes and Robins, which haue but lyttle been destroyed by the wilde

Cats, Wood-pickars, very many Crowes, which since this Plantation are killed, the rest fled or seldome seene except in the most vninhabited places, from whence they are obserued to take their flight about sun-set, directing their course towards the North-west, which makes many coniecture there are some more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are also seene Falcons and far-falcons, Ospraies, a bird like a Hobby, but because they come seldome, they are held but as passengers: but aboue all these, most deseruing obsernation and respect are those two sorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect, called the Cahow, and Egge bird, which on the first of May, a day constantly obserued, fall a laying infinite store of Eggs neere as big as Hens, vpon certaine small sandie baies especially in *Coupers* Ile; and although men sit downe amongst them when hundreds haue bin gathered in a morning, yet there is hath stayed amongst them till they haue gathered as many more: they continue this course till *Midsummer*, and so tame and feareles, you must thrust them off from their Eggs with your hand; then they grow so faint with laying, they suffer them to breed and take infinite numbers of their yong to eat, which are very excellent meat.

The Cahow is a bird of the night, for all the day she lies hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are also taken with as much ease as may be, but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light vpon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leaue the leane; those they haue only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are speckled, the other white. Mr. *Norwood* hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and since there hath beene such hauecke made of them, they were neere all destroyed, till there was a strict inhibition for their preseruation. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullet, with one onely long Feather in her taile, and is seldome seene far distant from other of the Tropicks: another small bird there is, because she cries Pembiyco they call her so, she is seldome seene in the day but when she sings, as too oft she doth very clamorously; too true a Prophet she proues of huge winds and boysterous weather: there were a kinde of small Owles in great abundance, but they are now all slaine or fled: some tame Ducks, Geese and Pigeons there are but the two latter prosper not.

Concerning vermine and noisome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats, there increased since the Plantation, but how they agree together you shall heare hereafter. The Muskotas and Flies are also too busie, with a certaine Indie Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into Chests they eat and defile with their ill-sented dung: also the little Ants in summer time are so troublesome, they are forced to dry their figs vpon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they sticke, else they would spoile them all ere they could be dryed: Wormes in the earth also there are, but too many, so that to keepe them from destroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme them eury morning, which is a great labour, else all would be destroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none, and it is said they were destroyed by the Cat. Certaine spiders also of very large size are found hanging vpon trees, but instead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a most pleasing aspect, all ouer drest, as it were with Siluer, Gold, and Pearle, and their Webs in the Summer wouen from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw silke, and that as well in regard of substance as colour, and so strong withall, that diuers Birds bigger than Blackbirds, being like Snipes, are often taken and snared in them as a Net: then what would the Silke-worme doe were shee there to feede vpon the continuall greene Mulbery?

But aboue all the rest of the Elements, the Sea is found most abundantly liberall: hence haue they as much excellent Fish, and as much variety as need be desired. The most of which being vnknown to our Northerne parts, got there new names, either for their shapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fish from his like hew, and haunting amongst the Rocks, the fat Hog-fish from his swine-like shape and snout: for this is not the old knowne Hog-fish with brussels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fish from his taste and smell, Angell-fish, Cony-fish, the small yellow taile from that naturall painting; the great Growper from his odde and strange grunting, some of them yet knowne to the *Americans*, as the Purgoose, the Cauallo, the Gar-fish, Flying-fish and Moteraves: the rest are common to other Continents: as the Whale in great numbers, the Sharke, the Pilot-fish, the Sea-Breame, the Oyster and Lobster, with diuers others; twenty Tortoises haue been taken in a day, and some of them

will affoord halfe a bushell of Egges, and suffice to feede forty men at a meale. And thus haue you briefly epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet dainty spot of earth, neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein shee incliueth to the Stepdame, especially since the particulars are so few, as rather requisite Antidotes against idlenesse to rouse vp industry, then any great cause of much distaste, much lesse despaire: and of those to speake troth, there are onely two: *viz.* the Winds, and the Wormes, especially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let rest these small Islands, in the midst of this mightie and maine Ocean, so inuironed on euery side, by infinite numbers of vncertaine scattered Rocks, lying shallowly hid vnder the surface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or fiue, to Sea, to the which advantages added by art, as hereafter you shall heare at large, and finde described in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the most impregnable place in the world, and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied vpon to gaine wealth; yet by practise and experience they find, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and such like great profit may be expected: yet were those hopelesse in regard of their conuenience to nourish and maintaine themselues, and releeue them shall visit them with wood, water, and other necessaries, besides what an eye-sore they are already becommed to them that haue them not, and how deare and precious to them that haue them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and so we will proceed to the accidents that befell the first finders; also the proceedings of the first Planters and their successors, Master *Norrod*, *Thomas Sparkes* and diuers others.

A briefe relation of the shipwracke of Henry May. 1593.

How these Iles came by the name of *Bermudas*, or the infinite number of blacke Hogs, or so fearefull to the world, that many called them the *Ile of Deuils*, that all men did shun as Hell and perdition; I will not expostulate, nor trouble your patiences with those vncertaine antiquities further

then thus; our men found diuers crosses, peeces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found, by certaine inscriptions to bee some Spanish, some Dutch, some French: but the greatest rumour is, that a Spanish ship called *Bermudas* was there cast away, carrying Hogges to the West Indies that swam a shore, and there increased: how the *Spaniards* escaped is vncertaine: but they say, from that ship those Iles were first called *Bermudas*, which till then for six thousand yeares had beene namelesse.

But the first English-man that was euer in them, was one *Henry May*, a worthy Mariner that went with Captaine *Lancaster* to the East-Indies 1591. and in their returne by the West-Indies, being in some distresse, sent this *Henry May* for England by one *Monsier de la Barbotier*, to acquaint the Merchants with their estate. The last of Nouember, saith *May*, we departed from *Laguna* in *Hispaniola*, and the seuenteenth of December following, we were cast away vpon the North-west of the *Bermudas;* the Pilots about noone made themselues Southwards of the Iles twelue leagues, and demanded of the Captaine their Wine of hight [right] as out of all danger, which they had: but it seemes they were either drunke, or carelesse of their charge; for through their negligences a number of good men were cast away. I being but a stranger amongst fiftie and odde French-men, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them should be saued. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our Boat, where were but six and twentie of vs saued; and I seeing scarce roome for the one halfe, durst not passe in amongst them till the Captaine called me along with him, leauing the better halfe to the seas mercy: that day we rowed till within two houres of night ere we could land, being neere dead with thirst, euery man tooke his way to seeke fresh water, at length, by searching amongst many weeds, we found some raine water, but in the maine are many faire Baies, where we had enough for digging.

Now it pleased God before our ship split we saued our Carpenters tooles, some Nailes, Sailes, and Tacklings, wherewith we went roundly to worke, and built a Barke of eighty tunnes: In stead of Pitch, we made Lime, mixed with Tortoise oyle, and as the Carpenters calked her, I and another paied the seames with this plaster, which being in Aprill, became quickly dry, and as hard as a stone.

In Aprill it was so hot, we feared our water would faile, two great Chests wee made, which we calked as our ship; those we stowed on each side our maine Mast, filled them with water and thirtie liue Tortoises: wee found many Hogges, but so leane wee could not eat them; the tops of the Palmeta berries was our bread, and the iuyce we got out of the trees we cut downe our drinke, and of the leaues, which are more then an Ell long, we couered our Cabens, and made our beds, and found many of those prouisions as is related, but little foule weather. The eleuenth of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Ile, after wee had liued there fiue moneths: and the twentieth wee fell with Cape *Britton*, neere *New found Land*, where refreshing our selues with wood and water, and such things as we could get of the Saluages, it seemed a good Countrey, but we staied not past foure houres before we set saile for the banke of *New found land*, where wee met many ships, but not any would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God we met a Barke of *Fawmothe*, which receiued vs for a little time, and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captaine *de la Burbotier*, my deare friend, and all his company: and in August arriued at *Falmouth* in this honest English Barke, 1594.

Written by me Henry May.

The first English ship knowne to haue beene cast away vpon the Bermudas 1609. *From the relation of* Mr. Iordan, *Master* Iohn Euens, *Master* Henry Shelly, *and diuers others.*

You haue heard, that when Captaine *Smith* was Gouernor of *Virginia*, there were nine ships sent with Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Nuport* with fiue hundred people, to take in the old Commission, and rectifie a new gouernment: they set saile in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of Northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme storme, or rather a part of *Hericano*, vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iuly, which as they write, did not onely separate them from the Fleet, but with the violent

working of the Seas, their ship became so shaken, torne, and leake, she receiued so much water as couered two tire of Hogsheads aboue the ballace, that they stood vp to the middles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to baile out the water. Thus bailing and pumping three daies and three nights without intermission, and yet the water seemed rather to iacrease then diminish, in so much that being all vtterly spent with labour, were euen resolued without any hope, to shut vp the hatches, and commit themselues to the mercy of the Sea, which is said to be mercilesse, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whose mercy farre exceeds all his workes; seeing no sense or hope in mans apprehension, but presently to sinke: some hauing some good and comfortable waters, fetched them and dranke one to another, as taking their last leaues vntill a more happy, and a more ioyfull meeting in a more blessed world, when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide their ship for her most aduantage;

That Sir *George Somers* all this time sitting vpon the poupe, scarce taking leisure to eat nor sleepe, couing the ship to keepe her as vpright as he could, otherwaies she must long ere that needs haue foundered, most wishedly and happily descried land; wherevpon he most comfortably incouraged them to follow their worke, many of them being fast asleepe: this vnlooked for welcome newes, as if it had bin a voice from heauen, hurrieth them all aboue hatches, to looke for that they durst scarce beleeue, so that improuidently forsaking that taske which imported no lesse then their liues, they gaue so dangerous aduantage to their greedy enemy the salt water, which still entred at the large breaches of their poore wooden castle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh swallowed their death. Surely it is impossible any should now be vrged to doe his best, and although they knew it that place all men did so shun, yet they spread all the saile they could to attaine them: for not long it was before they strucke vpon a rocke, till a surge of the sea cast her from thence, and so from one to another, till most luckily at last so vpright betwixt two, as if she had beene in the stocks, till this they expected but euery blow a death: But now behold, suddenly the wind giues place to a calme, and the billows, which each by ouertaking her, would in an instant haue shiuered her in peeces, become peaceable and still, so that

with all conueniency and ease, they vnshipped all their goods, victuall, and persons into their Boats, and with extreme joy, euen almost to amazednesse, arriued in safetie, though more then a league from the shore, without the losse of a man: yet were they in all one hundred and fifte: yet their deliuerance was not more strange in falling so happily vpon the land, as their feeding and preseruation was beyond their hopes; for you haue heard, it hath beene to the *Spaniards* more fearfull then an Vtopian Purgatory, and to all Sea-men no lesse terrible then an inchanted den of Faries and Deuils, the most dangerous, vnfortunate, and forlorne place in the world, and they found it the richest, healthfullest and pleasantest they euer saw, as is formerly said.

Being thus safe on shore, they disposed themselves to search the Isle for food and water; others to get a shore what they could from the ship: not long Sir *George* wandred but found such a fishing, that in halfe an houre with a hooke and line, he tooke so many as sufficed the whole company, in some places they were so thicke in the Coures, and so great, they durst not goe in lest they should bite them, and these rocke fish are so great two will load a man, and fatter not better fish cannot be. *M. Shelly* found a Bay neere a quarter of a mile ouer, so full of *Mullets*, as none of them before had euer seene or heard of the like: the next day seeking to kill them with fis-gigs, they stracke so many the water in many places was red with blood, yet caught not one, but with a net they caught so many as they could draw a shore, with infinite number of Pilchards and diuers other sorts; great crawe-fishes in a night by making a fire they haue taken in great quantity. Sir *George* had twice his hooke and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it so strong he caught the same fish, which had pulled him into the Sea had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hookes againe were found in her body. At their first hunting for hogs they found such abundance, they killed 32 and this hunting and fishing was appointed to Captaine *Robert Wainsingham*, and Sir. *Henry Shell* for the company in general: they report they killed at least 500 besides Pigs, and many that were killed by diuers others for to feed in their seasons, the facility to make [illegible] of Palmetos leaues, caused many of them vtterly forget or desire euer to returne from thence, for euer had in such plenty, peace and ease.

But let vs remember how the Knights began to resolue in those desperat affaires: many proiects they had, but at last it was concluded, to decke their long boat with their ship hatches; which done, with all expedition they sent Master *Rauen*, a very sufficient Mariner, with eight more in her to *Virginia*, to haue shipping from thence to fetch them away; three weekes or a moneth they expected her returne, but to this day she was neuer more heard of; all this time was spent in searching the Iles: now although God still fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet such was the malice of enuy or ambition, for all this good seruice done by *Sommers*, such a great difference fell amongst their Commanders, that they liued asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers then distressed friends: but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.

Two ships at this time by those seuerall parties were a building; in the meane time two children were borne, the Boy was called *Bermudas*, the Girle *Bermuda*, and amongst all those sorrowes they had a merry English mariage: the forme of those Iles you may see at large in the Map of Mr. *Norwood*, where you may plainly see no place knowne hath better walls, nor a broader ditch. But hauing finished and rigged their two new Cedar ships with such prouisions they saued from the Sea-aduenturer they left amongst the Rocks, they called the one the *Patience*, the other the *Deliuerance*; they vsed Lime and Oile; as *May* did for Pitch and Tar. Sir *George Summers* had in his Barke no Iron at all but one bolt in her Keele; now hauing made their prouisions of victuall and all things ready, they set saile the tenth of May 1610. onely leauing two men behinde them, called *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, that for their offences, or the suspition they had of their iudgements, fled into the woods, and there rather desired to end their daies then stand to their trials and the euent of Iustice: for one of their consorts was shot to death, and *Waters* being tied to a tree also to be executed, had by chance a Knife about him, and so secretly cut the Rope, he ran into the woods where they could not finde him. There were two Saluages also sent from *Virginia* by Captain *Smith*, the one called *Namuntack*, the other *Mitchumps*, but some such differences fell betweene them, that *Machumps* slew *Namuntack*, and hauing made a Pole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut of his legs

and laid them by him, which murder he concealed till he was in *Virginia*.

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth they arriued in *Virginia* at *Iames* towne, where they found but threescore persons, as you may reade at large in the History of *Virginia*, of the fiue hundred left by Captaine *Smith*, also of the arriuall of the Lord *Laware*, that met them thus bound for *England*, returned them backe, and vnderstanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the *Bermudas*, was desirous to send thither to supply his necessary occasions; whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the best acquainted with the place, whose noble minde euer regarded a generall good more then his own ends, though aboue threescore years of age, and had meanes in *England* sutable to his ranke, offered himselfe by Gods helpe to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the *Bermudas*, which was kindly accepted, so vpon the 19. of Iune, he imbarked in his Cedar ship, about the burthen of thirty tunnes, and so set saile.

Much foule and crosse weather he had, and was forced to the North parts of *Virginia*, where refreshing himselfe vpon this vnknowne coast, he could not bee diuerted from the search of the *Bermudas*, where at last with his company he safely arriued: but such was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and industry to dispatch his businesse, and the strength of his body not answering the euer memorable courage of his minde, hauing liued so long in such honourable seruices, the most part of his well beloued and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, should euer remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed sorrow for his death: finding his time but short, after he had taken the best course he could to settle his estate, like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be constant to those Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to *Virginia*. In that very place which we now call Saint *Georges* towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. But his men, as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all, embalmed his body and set saile for *England*, being the first that euer went to seeke those Ilands, which haue been euer since called *Summers* Iles, in honour of his worthy memory, leauing three men behind them, that voluntarily staied, whose names were *Christopher Carter*, *Edward Waters*, there formerly left

as is said, and *Edward Chard*. This Cedar ship at last with his dead body arriued at *Whit-Church* in *Dorsetshire*, where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, and vpon his tombe was bestowed this Epitaph.

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde & hiems;
At ver perpetuum nascetur, & Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In English thus.

Alas Virginia's Summer so soone past,
Autumne succeeds and stormy Winters blast,
Yet *Englands* ioyfull Spring with ioyfull showers,
O *Florida*, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

The honour of this resolution belongs principally to *Carter*, for through his importunity, not to leaue such a place abandoned, *Chard* and *Waters* were moued to stay with him, and the rest promised with all the speed they could againe to reuisit them. But the ship once out of sight, those three Lords, the sole inhabitants of all those Ilands, began to erect their little common wealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting Corne, and such seeds and fruits as they had, building a house, &c. Then making priuy search amongst the creuises and corners of those craggy Rocks, what the maine Ocean since the worlds creacion had throwne amongst them, at last they chanced vpon the greatest peece of Amber-greece was euer seene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight foure-score pound, besides diuers other small peeces.

But now being rich, they grew so proud and ambitious, contempt took such place, they fell out for superiority, though but three forlone men, more then three thousand miles from their native Country, and but small hope euer to see it again. Notwithstanding, they sometimes fell from words to blowes about mere trifles: in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reproue them of their folly; at last *Chard* and *Waters*, the two greater spirits, must try it out in the field, but *Carter* wisely stole away their weapons, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, then by being rid of them liue alone:

and thus those miserable men liued full two yeeres, so that all their clothes were neere worne cleene from their backs, and their hopes of any forraine releefe as naked as their bodies. At last they began to recouer their wits, yet in a fashion perhaps would haue cost them dearer then when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Machiin warre, they resolued to frame as good a boat as they could, and therein to make a desperate attempt for *Virginia*, or *New found Land;* but no sooner were they entered into that resolution, but they descried a saile standing in for the shore, though they neither knew what she was, nor what she would, they were so ouer-ioyed, with all possible speed they went to meet her, and according to their hearts desire she proued an English-man, whom they safely conducted into their harbour.

Now you are to vnderstand, that Captaine *Matthew Somers*, Nephew and heire to Sir *George*, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his Company did their vtmost in relating all those passages to their Countrey-men and aduenturers, their relations were beleeued but as trauellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by some of the *Virginia* Company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in *Virginia*, so that some one hundred and twenty of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had sent this ship to make a triall: but first they had obtained Letters Patents of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treasurer and Gouernour heere, and Master *Richard More* to be Gouernour of the Iles and Colony there.

The first beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, vnder the command of Master Richard More, *extracted out of a plot of Master* Richard Norwood *Surueior, and the relation of diuers others.* 1612.

MASTER *More* thus finding those three men not onely well and lusty, but well stored with diuers sorts of prouisions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, numbers of Pompions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoises ready taken, good

store of hogs flesh salted, and made in flitches of Bacon, were very good, and so presently landed his goods and sixty persons towards the beginning of Iuly 1612. vpon the South side of *Smiths* Ile.

Not long after his arriuall, *More* hauing some priuate intelligence of this Amber-greece, tooke first *Chard* in examination, he being one of the three the most masterfull spirit, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treasure, or other Commodities they had found. *Chard* no lesse witty then resolute, directly answered: Not any thing at all but the fruits of the Ile, what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then he should know it certainly. This he spake onely to win time to sweare his Consorts to secrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they should all returne in that ship with it all for *England*, otherwise they should be deceiued of all. Till this was effected they thought euery houre an age; now for the better conuenience of it aboord, they acquainted it to Captaine *Dauis*, master of the ship, and one Master *Edwin Kendall*, that for their secrecy and transportation should participate with them: Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and absolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place set downe to haue it aboord. But *Carter*, were it for feare the Gouernor at last should know of it, to whom so oft they had denied it: or that the rest should deceiue him, is vncertaine; but most certaine it is, he reuealed all the plot to Master *More:* To get so much wealth he knew would please them in *England*, though it did displease all his Company, and to lose such a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So first he reuealed himselfe to *Kendall* in faire tearmes, reprouing his dishonesty, but not being answered according to his expectation, he committed both *Chard* and him to person [prison] The next Sabboath day *Dauis* comming on shore, *More* also taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him fast also if he mended not his manners; *Dauis* for the present replied little, but went with him to the place of praier: but in the midst of diuine seruice he goeth away, commanding all his seamen to follow him presently aboord, where he encourageth them to stand to him like men, and see would free the Prisoners, haue all the Amber-greece for themselues and so be gone.

The Gouernor hearing of this resolution, prepares with his company to repulse force with force, so that a generall expectance of a ciuill vnciuill warre possessed euery man; but this threatning gust passed ouer more cabulier then was expected; for *Davis* hauing better aduised with himselfe, repented his rashnesse, and desired a reconcilement with the Gouernor. Peace thus concluded, *Kendall* was set at liberte but *Chard* was condemned, and vpon the ladder to be hanged for his obstinacy: yet vpon better consideration *More* reprieued him, but kept him a prisoner all the time he staied in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great desert, and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would haue contented all the finders, that neuer had any consideration at all. The greatest part though *More* thus recouered, yet *Davis* and *Kendall* had so much, either by the ignorance or conniuency of the Gouernors, that arriuing in *England*, they prepared themselues for a new voiage; at last they two falling out, the Company hauing notice thereof, so tormented them both, they gaue ouer their voiage, and durst not be seene a long time after.

The Gouernor thus rid of the ship and those discontents, remoued his seat from *Smiths* Ile to Saint *Georges*, after he had fitted vp some small Cabbens of Palmata leaues for his wife and family, in that valley where now stands their prime towne called *S. Georges*, hee begun to apply himselfe to fortify the Countrey, and training his men to the exercise of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artist, a good Gunner, very witty and industrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the *Kings* Castle, *Charles* Fort, *Pembrookes* Fort, *Smiths* Fort, *Pagits* Fort, *Gates* Fort, *Warwicks* Castle, Saint *Katharines* Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houses, plant Corne, and such fruits as they had.

Being thus busied, and as the necessitie of the time required, keeping his men somewhat hard at worke; Master *Keath* his Minister, were it by the secret prouocation of some drones, that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine: But he begins to tax the Gouernor in the Pulpit, hee did grind the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with *Pharoahs* taxes. *More*

finding this in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together and also the Minister, vrging them plainly to tell him wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an vniversall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that *Heath* downe of his knees to aske him forgiueness. But Master *More* kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches; notwithstanding two other discontents so vpbraided *More* with that doctrine, and stood to maintaine it, he imprisoned a Iury, with a great deale of seeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palsie: so that the other was set at libertie, and proued after a very good labourer.

Many conclusions he tried about the *Sea-venture*, the wracke of Sir *George Somers*, but he got onely for his paines but two peece of Ordnance. Hauing framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempest, so that he built another in a more closer place with Palmeta leaues.

Before this yeere was expired, the aduenturers sent them an *aduiso* with thirtie Passengers and good prouissions to prepare with all expedition for their defence against the *Spaniard*, whom they vnderstood ere long would visit them: This occasioned him to keepe all his men together in that Isle so hande at worke, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, liuing onely on that they had, and expected daily to receiue from *England*, they were so ouer-toiled, many fell sicke, but none died. Very earnest this ship was to haue all the Amber-greece, which M. *More* perceiuing, was the chiefest cause of their coming, and that it was the onely loadstone to draw from *England* still more supplies; for all the expresse command sent from the Company, he returned this ship but with the one third part; so from thence she went to *Virginia*, and not long after arriued safely in *England*.

But before her returne the Company sent the *Marlin* with sixtie Passengers more, they arriued in [illegible] *Bacchus* to survey the Island, and the estate of the Colonie, with expresse command for all the Amber-greece: but *More* perceiuing him not as he would haue him, and that the Company began to mistrust him, would send no more but another third part, whereupon they procured hauing a French-man to make triall of the [illegible] but he did not bring any thing to perfection: excusing himself, they were not the

right Mulberies he expected. About this time they were in hope of a small crop of Tobacco, but it was most spoiled for want of knowledge to vse it. Now in *England* Master *More* became amongst the Merchants marvelous distastfull, for the detaining so long the Amber-greece; which delaies they so much abhorred, they forthwith dispatched the *Elizabeth* the second time and forty Passengers, much rebuking *More* for so long detaining the Amber-greece: for the which, hauing now no more colourable excuses, he deliuered it, wherewith the ship went to *Virginia*, and thence home. In this ship was brought the first Potato roots, which flourished exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almost lost (all but two cast-away roots) that so wonderfully haue increased, they are a maine releefe to all the Inhabitants. This ship was not long gone but there came two Spanish ships, sounding with their Boat, which attempted to come in: but from the Kings Castle Master *More* made but two shot, which caused them presently depart. Marke here the handy-worke of the diuine prouidence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one shot more, and the powder by carelesnesse was tumbled downe vnder the mussels of the two pecces, were discharged, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged.

This feare thus past, appeares another much worse, which was the extremity of famine; in this extremity God sent Captaine *Daniel Elfrid* with a caruell of meale which a little releued them, but brought with all so many Rats, that within two yeeres after neered ruined all; now though *Elfrid* had deceiued his friend *Fisher* of this Caruell in the *West-Indies*, they reuenged *Fishers* iniury, for *Elfrid* had his passage for *England*, and they made vse of all he had. Some two moneths after, came in the *Blessing* with an hundred Passengers; and two daies after the *Starre* with a hundred and fourscore more, amongst which were many Gentlemen, as Master *Lower* for Marshall, Master *Barnet*, Master *Felgate*, and diuers others; but very vnproper for what they vndertooke. Within foureteene daies after came in the *Margaret* and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threescore Passengers: also Master *Bartlet* came now expressly to diuide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. But Master *More* finding no mention made of any part for himselfe nor all them with him, as he was promised in *En-*

gland, by no meanes would admit of any diuision, nor suffer his men from finishing their fortifications, which was so necessary, it was his maine ambition to see that accomplished; but such vnkindness grew betwixt this Master *Bartlet* and the Gouernour, that the rude multitude with all the disdaine they could deuise caused *Bartlet* returne for *England* as he came. About this time *William Millington* was drawne into the Sea by a fish, but neuer after euer seene.

The neglect of this diuision was very hardly conceited in *England*, so that Master *More* grew more and more in dislike with the company; notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starued in their houses; and many that were abroad, through weaknesse were subject to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges, which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else: being thus taken, if any presently gave them food, many times they straight recouered, yet some after a little rest would bee able to walke, but if they found not present succour, died.

About this time or immediately before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed, which for any thing knowne, neither before nor since were euer seene or heard of: this with diuers other reasons caused Master *More* to goe out to Sea, to see if he could discouer any other Islands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble aduenture of him would vndertake to make more perfect all the dangers are about the *Summer Iles*.

Thus famine and misery caused Gouernor *More* leaue all his workes, and send them abroad to get what they could: one hundred and fifty of the most weake and sicke he sent to *Coupers* Isle, where were such infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were so fearlesse they might take so many as they would, and that admired abundance of fish, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was such, those heauenly blessings they so much consumed and wasted by carelesnesse and surfeiting, many of them died vpon

those silly Birds that offered themselues to the slaughter, which the Gouernour vnderstanding, caused them for change of aire to be remoued to *Port-royall*, and a Company of Fishers with a Boat to releeue them with fish, but the Gange grew so lazie the poore weaklings still died; they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Isle, faining the heat caused them to runne into the Sea and so were drowned; so that the Gouernour sent againe for them home, but some obtained leaue still to liue abroad; one amongst the rest hid himselfe in the Woods, and liued onely on Wilkes, and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths, but most of them being at Saint *Georges*, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fishes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the Smith made hookes of old swords, and lines of old ropes, but finding all those poore Engines also decay, they sent one of the two Frigats last left with them for *England*, to tell them of this misery. All which was now attributed to Master *Mores* peruersenesse, who at first when he got the Amber-Greece had not such a general applause, but now all the worst could possibly be suggested was too good for him; yet not knowing for the present how to send a better, they let him continue still, though his time was neere expired, and with all speed sent the *Welcome* fraught with prouision, where shee well arriued, and proued her selfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all those extremities, Master *Lewes Hues* writeth, not one of all those threescore that first beganne this Plantation was dead, which shewes it was not impossible, but industry might haue preuented a great part of the others sluggish carelesnesse.

This ship much refreshed this miserable Colony, but Master *More* seeing they sent not for him, his time being now expired, vnderstanding how badly they reputed him in *England*, and that his imployment now was more for their owne ends then any good for himselfe, resolued directly to returne with this ship. Hauing setled all things in the best order he could, left the gouernment to the charge of the counsell of six to succeed each other monethly, till they had further directions from *England*; whose names were Captaine *Miles Kendall*, Captaine *Iohn Mansfield*, *Thomas Knight*, *Charles Caldycot*, *Edward Waters*, and *Christopher Carter*, with twelue others for their assistances. *More* thus taking leaue

of those Ilands, arriued in *England*, much wrangling they had, but at last they confirmed him according to promise eight shares of Land, and so he was dismissed of his charge, with shew of fauour and much friendship.

The rule of the six Gouernors. 1615.

THE first thing they did was the casting of lots, who should rule first, which lot lighted vpon Master *Caldicot*. This last supply somewhat abated the extremitie of their miseries, and the better in that their fortifications being finished, they had the more leisure to goe abroad with that meanes was brought to that purpose to fish. *Chard* as you haue heard, whom all this while *More* had kept Prisoner, they set at libertie: now by reason of their former miseries, little or nothing could be done: yet this Gouernor hauing thus concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himselfe with two other of his fellow counsellors; namely, *Knight* and *Waters* for the West-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle, and such like. But this poore vessell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, in stead of the *Indies* fell with the *Canaries*, where taking a poore *Portugall*, the which they manned with ten of their owne people, as soone after separated from her in a storme, and the next day was taken by a French Pickaroune, so that the Frigot out of hope of her prize, makes a second time for the West-Indies, where she no sooner arriued, but foundred in the sea; but the men in their Boat recouered a desolate Ile, where after some few moneths stay, an English Pyrat tooke them in, and some of them at last got for *England*, and some few yeares after returned to the *Somer Iles*.

Captaine Iohn Mansfield *his moneth.*

THE Frigot thus gone, Captaine *Mansfield* succeeded.—Then was contriued a petition, as from the generalitie, vnto the triumuirat Gouernors: wherein they supplicated, that by no meanes they should resigne the gouernment to any should come from *England*, vpon what tearmes soeuer, vntill six moneths after the returne of their ship sent to the West-Indies: about this vnwarrantable action, Master *Lewes Hues* their Preacher was so violent in suppressing it, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemed, and imprisoned. but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master *Keith* a Scotch-man, that professed schollership, that made all the people in a great combustion: much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudiciary course against Master *Hues*, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church; some cried out, A miracle; others, it was but an accident common in those Iles, but the noise was so terrible it dissolued the assembly: notwithstanding, Master *Hues* was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged; but those factions were so confused, and their relations so variable, that such vnnecessary circumstances were better omitted then any more disputed.

This mans moneth thus ended, begins Master *Carter*, which was altogether spent in quietnesse, and then Captaine *Miles Kendall* had the rule, whose moneth was also as quietly spent as his Predecessors. Then Captaine *Mansfield* begins his second moneth, when the ship called the *Edwin* arriued with good supplies. About this time diuers Boats going to sea were lost, and some men drowned; and many of the Company repaired to Master *Hues*, that there might bee a Councell according to Master *Mores* order of six Gouernours, and twelue Assistants, whereupon grew as many more such silly brawles as before, which at last concluded with as simple a reconciliation. In the *interim* happened to a certaine number of priuate persons as miserable and lamentable an accident as euer was read or heard of, and thus it was:

In the month of March, a time most subiect of all others to such tempests; on a Friday there went seuen in a boat of two or three tunnes to fish. The morning being faire, so eager they were of their iourney, some went fasting: neither carried they either meate or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries, but being at their fishing place some foure leagues from the shoare, such a tempest arose, they were quickly driuen from the sight of land in an ouergrowne Sea, despairing of all hope, onely committing themselues to Gods mercy, let the boat driue which way shee would. On Sunday the storme being somewhat abated, they hoysted saile as they thought towards the Island. In the euening it grew starke calme; so that being too weake to vse their oares, they lay a drift that night. The next morning *Andrew Hilliard*, for now all his companions were past strength either to helpe him or themselues, before a small gale of wind spread his saile againe. On Tuesday one died, whom they threw ouer board. On Wednesday three. And on Thursday at night the sixt. All these but the last were buried by *Hilliard* in the Sea, for so weake hee was growne hee could not turne him ouer as the rest, whereupon hee stripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee spread his body abroad tilted open with a sticke, and so lets it lie as a cisterne to receiue some lucky raine-water, and this God sent him presently after, so that in one small shoure hee recouered about foure spoonefals of raine water to his vnspeakable refreshment; he also preserued neere halfe a pint of blood in a shoe, which he did sparingly drinke of to moist his mouth: two seuerall daies he fed on his flesh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleuenth day from his losing the sight of land, two flying fishes fals in his boat, whose warme iuicie blood hee sucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe descried the land, and within foure houres after was cast vpon a rocke neere to Port royall, where his boat was presently split in pieces, but himselfe, though extreamly weake, made shift to clamber vp so steepe and high a rocke, as would haue troubled the ablest man in the Ile to haue done that by day hee did by night.

Being thus astride on a rocke, the tumbling Sea had gotten such possession in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would suffer him to venture vpon the

forsaking it: towards the morning he crauls a shore, and then to his accomplished ioy descernes where hee is, and trauels halfe a day without any refreshment then water, whereof wisely and temperately he stinted himselfe, otherwise certainely hee had drunke his last. In which case hee attaines a friends house: where at the first they tooke him for a ghost, but at last acknowledged and receiued him with ioy, his story after some houres of recouery of strength to tell it, heard out with admiration: he was not long after conueyed to the towne, where he receiued his former health, and was liuing in the yeere 1622.

The next newes that happened in this time of ease, was, that a merry fellow hauing found some few Dollars against the Flemish wracke, the bruit went currant the treasure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to preuent the purloining of it, before they had it: where after they had tyred themselues with searching, that they found, amounted not to aboue twenty pounds starling, which is not vnlike but to be the remainder of some greater store, washed from some wracke not farre from the shore.

The company by the *Edwin* receiuing newes of the reuels were kept in *Sommer Iles*, resolued to make choice of a new Gouernour; called Master *Daniel Tuckar*, that a long time had bin a planter in *Virginia* in the gouernment of Captaine *Smith*. All things being furnished for his voyage; hee set saile in the *George*, consorted with the *Edwin*, with many passengers, which being discouered by them in those Iles, they supposed them the Frigot sent to the West-Indies: but when they vnderstood what they were, much preparation they made to resist the new Gouernour. Many great ostentations appeared on both sides, but when the *quandam* Gouernour did see his men for most part forsake him: all was very well and quietly compounded, and with much kindnesse receiued and welcomed a shore, where his Commission was no sooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Gouernour.

The Gouernment of Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 1616.

About the midst of May arriued this Gouernor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing. But at last according to the *Virginia* order, hee set euery one was with him at Saint *Georges*, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of *England*. These by their taske Masters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be employed to the place of their employment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-noone from three till Sunne-set. Beside meat, drinke and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kind of brasse money with a hogge on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges was found at their first landing.

This course thus squared, imitating diuers orders vsed in *Virginia*, by Sir *Tho. Dale*: he began by them to looke into his instructions giuen by the Company. Whereupon by one Mr. *Richard Norwood* a Suruayor, sent ouer for that purpose, in the time of Master *Moore*, hee began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to consist of fifty shares to a tribe: and twenty fiue acres to eury share. He also begun to plant some Colony men, on some of the especiall shares. He swore also certaine of the chiefe men of euery tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and appointed as many men as hee was able for all supplied shares. The goods landed in the store houses hee sent from thence, and dispersed it to his workemen in generall: some Boats also began to be builded; but the pinace called the *Thomas* suspected might make an escape, was laid vp in a docke, were shee yet remaineth.

In the beginning of the second moneth of his gouernment, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a general Assise at Saint *Georges*, and appointed Master *Stokes* Lieutenant of the Kings Castle at the Gurnets head. The *Edwin* came with him he sent to the West Indies by directions from *England*, to trade with the natiues, for cattell, corne, plants, and other commodities. A course of great importance, which had it been pursued, would certainly haue produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony.

then all the supplies and *Magazines* from *England* hath or will in a long time.

Presently after her departure began the Assises, executed by his Deputy. The Chiefe matter handled was the hanging one *Iohn Wood* a French man, for speaking many distastefull and mutinous speeches against the Gouernour, to shew the rest by that example, the power of his authority, which after with his owne hands he so oft executed with a bastinado amongst the poorer sort; many tearmed it a cruelty, not much lesse then tyranny: but the sequell is more then strange.

So it was that fiue of them, seeing by no meanes they could get passage for *England*, resolued to vndergoe all hazards but they would make an escape from such seruitude. The chiefe mariner and plotter of this businesse, was *Richard Sanders*, and his confederates, *William Goodwin*, a ship Carpenter, *Thomas Harison*, a Ioyner, *Iames Barker* a Gentleman, and *Henry Puet*. These repairing to the Gouernour, and with pleasing insinuations told him, if hee would but allow them but things necessary, they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close decke, should goe a fishing all weathers. The Gouernour halfe proud he had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceiued, to offer themselues to so necessary a worke; instantly with all willingnesse furnished them with all things they could desire, and many faire promises to incourage them to performe it with all expedition. Hauing made choise of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time she was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Gouernour, being ready to depart, hee sends a lusty gange to goe fetch his new boat to carry him aboard, but arriuing at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but she was gone the last euening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found diuers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Gouernour, and other their friends: that their hard and bad vsage was so intolerable, and their hope so small euer againe to see their Countrey, or be deliuered from such seruitude, they did rather chuse to put themselues to that desperate hazard to goe for *England*, in which if they miscaried as it was much to be mistrusted, their liues and bloods

should be required at their hands was the cause. A compasse Diall *Barker* had borrowed of Master *Hues*, to whom he writ that as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now be contented with the losse of his Diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure they found to bee merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most certaine ruine. The Gouernour being thus satisfied of their escape, extreamly threatened them no less then a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good prouision by bartering they had got from the ship, where *Goodwin* in a brauado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peraduenture hee might be in *England* before them, whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily. But hauing beene now vnder saile three weekes, the winds so fauoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare: then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for diuers dayes, then becomming more gentle, away they past prosperously some eight or ten dayes more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe tooke from them what hee liked, leauing them not so much as a crosse-staffe to obserue withall, and so cast them off: their course still they continued till their victuall began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for firewood. At last to their infinite ioy they arriued in *Ireland*, where the Earle of *Tomund* honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument, and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300 miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land, and I thinke since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of. This fortunate *Sanders* going to the *East Indies*, in the rifling some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old chest, for three or foure shillings, but because it wanted a key hee repented his bargaine, and would gladly haue sold it againe for less. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last hauing little to doe, hee broke it open, where he found a thousand pounds sterling, or so much gold as bought him in *England* a good estate, which leauing with his wife he returned againe to the *East Indies*.

The *George* setting saile three daves after this escape, the Gouernour seazed and confiscated all that those fugitiues left behinde them. Within a weeke after returned the *Edwin* from the *West Indies*, furnished with figges, pynes, sugar-canes, plantaines, papanes and diuers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since increased into greater numbers, also an *Indian* and a *Negar*, and so much *ligna vitæ* as defrayed all the charge. The Gouernor thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Figtrees, and Pomgranets, and seuerall diuisions by Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattell, for in such husbandry qualities he well deserued great commendations. The Aduenturers to supply him sent with all speed they could the *Hopewell*, a small Barke, but an excellent sailer, and in her one Captaine *Powell* an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe trade, after he had landed his passengers in the Summer Isles: but in his iourney at the Westerne Isles meeting a *Brasile* man, hee liked the suger and passengers so well, hee man'd the Caruill with his owne men, and continued his course, but bethinking himself how this would be entertained at the Summer Isles, hee found such doubts, hee went directly for the West Indies to take time to resolue what to doe: arriuing there hee met a French rouer, one euery way as cunning as himselfe, but much more treacherous. A great league of kindnesse is soone made betweene them, vpon confidence whereof, *Powell* and some of the chiefe with him being inuited aboord him, is easily entised, and in the midst of their cups both hee and his company treacherously made prisoners; and thus was forced to giue him their prise, or hang at the yards arme with all his company. Hauing set them a shore, away goes the French man; *Powels* ship being but hard by, presently fetcht them all a boord, but finding his victuall neere spent, and no hope at all to recouer his prize, set his Portugales on shore, and set saile for the Summer Isles; where safely arriuing, hee declared the whole passage to the Gouernour, lest some other in telling might make it worse, of which the Gouernour seemed well enough to approue.

This Gouernour still spent his time in good husbandry, although some of the sparling sort here in *England*, whom nothing will please, writ to him he was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Gouernour: some time he spent in digging of a great

pond. but that worke proued altogether vnprofitable: about that time was held the second Assise. The greatest matter passed, was a Proclamation against the spoile of Cahowes, but it came too late, for they were most destroyed before: a platforme hee caused to be erected by *Pagits* Fort, where a good Fort were very necessary. Captaine *Powell* not hauing performed his seruice in the West Indies, he conditioned with the Company, is sent thither againe by this Gouernour, and thirteene or fourteene of his best men, furnished with all things necessary. In the meane time the Company vnderstanding, that in Ianuary, February and March, there are many Whales, for which fishing they sent the Neptune, a tall ship well prouided with euery thing fitting for that purpose. But before she arriued, Captaine *Tuckar* who had brought also with him most prouisions for that imployment, sent three good Shalops to try what could be done, but whether it was the swiftness of the Whale in swimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they strucke many.

To begin his second yeere, he called the third Assise, where diuers were punished as their faults deserued: three were condemned to die: two were reprieued, but the third was hanged: the next day there was also a leuy for the repairing two Forts: but that labour tooke not such effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

But the great God of heauen being angry at somewhat happened in those proceedings, caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeeres so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselues into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no Iland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile: their nests they had almost in euery tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themselues, but ate them vp. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them: and they became noysome euen to the very persons of men. They vsed all the

diligence they could for the destroying of them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they vsed ratsbane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to set twelue traps, and some of their owne accord haue set neere an hundred, which they euer visited twice or thrice in a night: they also trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres would kil forty or fifty. Many other deuices they vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so deuoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two: so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeuoured so much for the planting Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things might more haue preuailed for their good, which caused amongst them much weaknesse and mortality, since the beginning of this uermine.

At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away: in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs that liued on them, were famished, and many of them leauing the woods, came downe to their houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed the destruction of them to the increase of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before: and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leaue the woods, and slew themselues for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there, as with vs in March, except it be in the wind: besides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they daily killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselues warme nests out of the wind; as vsually they did; neither doth it appeare that the colde was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat euen in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease of this vermine: as also by the preseruation of so many of them by such weake meanes as

they then enioyed, and especially in the so sudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God.

About this time *Henry Long*, with seauen others in an extreame storme were cast away, but three of them escaped.— One of them being asked what he thought in the worst of that extremity, answered, he thought nothing but, gallowes claime thy right! and it seemes God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after. In that March also fiue men went to Sea, but as yet was neuer heard of, and three more drowned in a boat. By *Hilliards* house grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almost to small shiuers, and a man stood by him, and *Samuel Tonton*, most fearfully blasted, yet neither they, the house, nor a little childe, yet a paire of racks in the house was all torne to fitters. The *Neptune* not long after arriuing to fish for whale, her fortune proued no better then the Gouernours, yet some are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

In May they discried foure saile, so that manning all their Forts, they stood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were; at last they found it Master *Powell* returned from the West-Indies in the *Hopewell*, where missing such trade as he expected, these three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuse but take them: Meale, Hides and Munition was their lading: Faire weather the Gouernor made with *Powell*, till he had got all the goods into his owne possession, and then called *Powell* to a strict account for doing such an vnwarrantable act: much a doe theu was betwixt the taker and receiuer; but *Powell* was glad to be excused to answer it in *England*, leauing all hee had taken behinde him in the Ilos: The *Neptune* also returned with him, but noble *Powell* lost all his pay and pillage for this yeeres worke. For which the Company sent for to *Tuckar*, so that he also lost his part as well as *Powell:* Notwithstanding, the Gouernour by this meanes being strong in shipping, fitted the Caruill with twelue men, vnder the command of *Edward Waters* formerly spoken of, and sent them to *Virginia* about such businesse as hee had conceiued. Arriuing there, they obtained some goates, and hogs, and what they could spare, and so returned for the *Summer Ilos;* but whether they could not finde the

Iles for want of skill, or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill will they bare the Gouernor, it matters not much: but they bare vp again for *Virginia*, where they all remained, and would returne no more to *Summer Iles*.

The Gouernour thinking to make some vse of the hides, set some that professed themselues Tanners, to make tryall of their skill; but they lost their labours and spoiled the hides. Also he called another Assise concerning a poore fellow called *Gabriel*, for concealing some speeches M. *Pollard* and M. *Rich* should vse, tending to the dis-reputation of the Gouernour, and his iniustice and cruelties: which being brought within the compasse of sedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe: many were called in question about it, although euery one ordinarily had spoke as much. Yet *Gabriel* for example sake was condemned to be hanged, and was vpon the ladder, but reprieued. The other two M. *Pollard*, and M. *Rich* were imprisoned, but vpon better consideration, the fact seemed so small and ridiculous, vpon their submission they were pardoned and restored to their places.

The diuision of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Master Richard Norwood, *Surueyor.* 1618.

According to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, assigning to euery Aduenturer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the general land, and imployed for publike vses as for the maintenance of the Gouernour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, souldiers, and such like: and to this end was assigned *S. Georges* Iland, *S. Davids* Iland, *Longbridge* Island, *Smiths* Iland, *Coopers* Iland, *Cony* Iland, *Nonsuch* Iland, part of the maine, and sundry other small Iles. The rest was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of some principall person that was Aduenturer therein: and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called *Bedfords* Tribe, now *Hamiltons:* the second, *Smiths:* Tribe the third, *Cavendish*, now *Devonshires:* the fourth, *Pembrooks:* the fift, *Pagits:* the sixt,

Mansils. now *Warwicks:* the seuenth, *Southampton:* the eighth, *Sands:* in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the *Lord Pagit*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Southampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sands*. Againe each of those Tribes were to be bee diuided into fifty parts, called shares; and euery Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in *England*, the manner of it appeares by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before as you haue heard; but as an vnsettled and confused Chaos, to receiue a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation

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The names of the Aduenturers, and their shares in euery Tribe, according to the suruey, and the best information yet ascertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.

	Share.
Iames L. Marquis Hamil.	6
Sir Edward Harwood.	4
M. Iohn Delbridge.	3
Iohn Dike.	3
Ellis Roberts.	2
Robert Phips.	1
Ralph King.	1
Quicks assignes.	2
William Cannig.	4
William Cannig.	1
William Web.	1
Iohn Bernards assignes.	2
Elias Roberts Iun.	1
Iohn Gearing.	2
Cleophas Smith.	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	4
M. Thomas Couell.	3
Greenwels assignes.	1
Cley.	1
Powlson.	2
Iohn Dike.	1 1-2
Common land for conueniency.	25
M. Iohn Dike.	1 1-2
George Thorps assignes.	1

2. *Smiths Tribe.*

Sir Dudley Digs assignes.	2
M. Richard Edwards.	2
William Pane.	4
Robert Smith.	2
George Barkley assignes	5
Sir Samuel Sands.	1

	Share.
M. Anthony Pennistone.	4
Sir Edwin Sands.	5
Sir Thomas Smith.	5
M. Richard More.	4
Ad. Brumfield.	2
Rob. Iohnson Alderman	5
Iohn Wroth.	3
George Smith.	4

3. *Deuonshire Tribe.*

M. Anth. Penistone.	2
Iohn Dike.	1
Iohn Dike.	1
Iohn Bernards heires.	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	2
M. Francis West.	2
Will. Lord Cauendish.	5
Will. Earle of Deuonshire.	5
M. Edw. Luckin.	5
Edw. Ditchfield.	1
Edw. Ditchfield.	4
Will. Nicols.	2
Edw. Ditchfield.	1
Iohn Fletcher.	2
Gideon Delawne.	2
Anth. Pennistone.	3
Best.	2
Edw. Luckin.	2
Richard Rogers.	2
Will. Palmer.	4

4. *Pembrookes Tribe.*

M. George Smith.	4
Gleab land.	2
M. Nicholas Hide.	1
Sir Lawrence Hide.	1
M. Thomas Iudwyn.	2
Will. Earle of Pemb.	10
M. Richard Edwards.	1
M. Harding.	1

	Share.
Rich. Edwards.	1
Elias Roberts.	1
Rich. Edwards.	1
Iacobsons assignes.	1
Iohn Farrar.	1
Nicholas Farrar.	1
Nicholas Farrar.	1
Will. Canning.	2
Richard Martin	2
Moris Abbot.	2
Rich. Caswell.	1
Rich. Caswell.	2
Will. Caswell.	1
Rich. Edwards.	2
Rich. Caswell.	1
Rich. Edwards.	1
George Sands assignes.	2
Will. Paine.	2

5. *Pagits Tribe.*

M. Iohn Chamberlaine.	5
Thomas Ayres, and Rich. Wiseman.	4
Rich. Wiseman.	1
Will. Lord Pagit.	10
M. Will. Palmer.	4
Bagnell.	5
Iohn Bale.	1
Wheatley.	4
Christop. Barron.	4
Iohn Wodall.	1
Iohn Wodall.	1
Lewis.	2
Owen Arthors assignes.	2
George Etheridge.	4
	2
Sir Will. Wade.	1
M. Iohn Bernards heires.	1

6. *Warwicks Tribe.*

M. Wheatley.	2

	Share.
Cap. Daniel Tuckar.	2
M. Will. Felgate.	1
Robert Earle of Warwicke.	5
M. George Smith.	5
Sam. Tickner.	2
Francis Meuell.	1
Sephen Sparrow.	1
Ioseph Man.	5
Cap. Daniel Tuckar.	2
M. Elias More.	1
Doctor Anth. Hunron.	2
M. Francis Monerill.	1
Rich. Poulson.	1
Math. Shephard.	1
George Tuckar.	10
Ch. Clithroe.	1
George Swinow.	2
Rich. Tomlings.	1
Francis Meverill.	1
Iohn Waters.	2
Martin Bond.	2

7. *Southamptons Tribe.*

Cap. Dan. Tuckar.	4
M. Iohn Britton.	1
Rich. Chamberland.	3
Leon. Harwods assignes	1
Iohn Banks.	1
Sir Nathanael Rich.	12
Rob. Earle of Warwicke.	3
M. Rich. More.	6
George Scot. / Edward Scot. / Antho. Abdy.	6
Hen. Earle of Southampton	4
M. And. Broumfield.	2
Henry Timbed.	2
Sir Tho. Hewet.	2
M. Perce.	1
Sir Ralph Winwood.	2

8. *Sandys Tribe.*

M. George Barcklies heires.	5
Sir Edwin Sands.	5
M. Ierom Hidon.	10
Tho. Millin and / Iohn Cuffe.	2
Robert Chamberlaine.	2
Abr. Chamberlaine.	1
George Smith.	2
Robert Gore.	3
Sir Edw. Sackvile.	1
Sir Iohn Dauers.	1
M. Robert Gore.	2
Iohn Delbridge.	1
Iohn Wroth.	1
Iohn Wests heires.	4
Richard Chamberlaine.	10

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surueyes amongst their Records.

Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conueniently haue beene disposed and well setled, without a true description and a suruey of it; and againe, euery man being setled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their household accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but substantiall houses, they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such

things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profit within a few yeeres, so that in a short time the Countrey began to aspire, and neerely approach vnto that happinesse and prosperitie, wherein now it flourisheth, &c.

But to follow the History; vpon the best plot of ground could be found, the Gouernor preuailed so much with the generalitie, they built a faire house of Cedar, which being done, he appropriated it to himselfe, which occasioned exceeding much distaste. About this time arriued the *Diana* with a good supply of men and prouision, and the first Magazin euer seene in those Iles; which course is not so much commended here, as cursed and abhorred by reason of enhansements of all the Inhabitants there: six or seuen weeks this ship staied, then hauing towards her fraught thirtie thousand weight of Tobacco: which prouing good, and comming to a lucky Market, gaue great encouragement to the Aduenturers to goe lustily forward in their Plantation, and without such successe, there is nothing but grudging and repining.—But about the appropriation of this new built house, many bad discontents grew betwixt the oppressed Colony and the Gouernor, especially betwixt him and the Minister, and *Lewis*, who would neither be feared with threats nor imprisonment, that their malice continued till they met in *England*, of which the Minister made the cause so plaine, hee very well and honestly it seemes, discharged himselfe.

Now in those times of these endlesse vnciuill broiles, two desperate men and a proper Gentlewoman got into a Boat, and thinking to make an escape to *Virginia*, as appeared by some Letters they left behinde them were neuer more heard on. The very next moneth after the like was attempted by six others, so desirous they were to be rid of their seruitude; but their plot being discouered by one of their societie, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged: the next day being led with halters about their necks to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the rest reprieued.

The *Diana* arriuing well in *England*, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did helpe to sweeten all manner of grieuances, yet it bred a distaste in the opinions of so many, they began to thinke of another Gouernor: but for that time it was so qualified by diuers of his friends, they dispatched away the *Blessing*, which arriued in the *Somer*

Iles. Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Gouernor, yet by the report of the Passengers and diuers particular letters from his friends, it was assured him his cruelty and couetousnesse, for all his paines and industry was much disliked, nor was he like to enioy his house, and that land he had planted for himselfe, by the extreme oppression of the Comminalty. This caused so many iealousies to arise in his conceit, that at last he fully resolued to returne by this ship, that no sooner set saile from *England*, then they proceeded to the nomination of a new Gouernor. Many were presented according to the affections of those that were to giue in their voices, but it chiefely rested betwixt one Captaine *Southwell* and Mr *Nathaniel Butler*, where wee will leaue them a while to the consideration of the Court and Company. Now Captaine *Tuckar* hauing instituted Captaine *Kendall* one of the six Gouernors before spoken of for his substitute, returned with this ship directly for *England*, as well to excuse himselfe of those obiections he suspected, as to get assured him the house and land he had alotted for himselfe, lest it migdt otherwise be disposed of in his absence.

Collected out of their Records by N. B. *and the relations of M.* Pollard, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Miles Kendall, *Deputy for Captaine* Tuckar.

THE vnexpected returne of Captaine *Tuckar*, caused a demurre in the election of the new Gouernour; some perswading these off changes were so troublesome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were best to continue Captaine *Kendall*; others againe stood for Captaine *Tuckar*, but during the time of these opinions, the *Gilliflower* was dispatched with a supply. Now I should haue remembered, *Tuckar* was no sooner out of the harbour; but he met Master *Elfred* in a ship called the *Treasurer*, sent from *Virginia* to trade: by her he writ to his Deputy Master *Kendall*, to haue a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ship, which he suspected was bound for the West-Indies: Notwithstanding,

Elfred receiued what kindnesse the He could afford; he promised to reuisit them at his returne; this done, because they would not be gouerniesse when his Deputyship was expired, there was a generall assembly, and by that Election *Kendall* was confirmed to succeed still Gouernor. Now they began to apply themselues to the finishing some plat-forme about *Smiths* Fort, and laying the foundation of a Church to be built of Cedar, till the *Gillyflower* arriued with some priuate letters to *Kendall*, how he was elected Gouernor of those Ilcs for three yeeres. During her stay they held their Assises, where for some few suspected facts three were condemned, and the better to terrifie the rest, led to the place of execution, but repriued; diuers of the rest had their faults pardoned, and the *Gilliflower* set saile for *New found land*.

The loue and kindnesse, honesty and industry of this Captaine *Kendall*, hath beene very much commended; by others, somewhat disliked: but an Angell in those imploiments cannot please all men, yet this consideration bred much ill blood as well here as there, so that the Company directly concluded, Captaine *Butler* should with what expedition they could, goe to be their Gouernor: In the *Interim* they tooke the opportunitie of a ship, called the *Sea-flower*, bound for *Virginia*, and by her sent a Preacher and his Family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Gouernor. This bred a great distaste amongst many, that still they should haue new officers and stangers for their Gouernors they neuer heard of, and themselues still kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but liue all as tenants, or as other mens poore seruants.

About this time came in Captaine *Kerby* with a small Barke from the West-Indies, who hauing refreshed himselfe, was very kindly vsed by the Gouernor and so departed. Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast away vpon the Westerne shore, yet by the helpe of the English they saued the men, though the ship perished amongst the rocks. A little after one Ensigne *Wood* being about the loading of a peece, by thrusting a pike into the concauitie, grating vpon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, strucke fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea, though hee was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds. Within two or three daies after,

Captaine *Elfred* now comes a second time: but of that we shall say more in the gouernment of Captaine *Butler*, who presently after arriued with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captaine *Kendall* and all the Colony.

From a relation of Tho. Sparks, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Nathaniel Butler.

CAPTAINE *Butler* being arriued the twentieth of October, 1619. some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine *Kendall*, but better remembering themselues, that conceit quickly dissolued. The next day, *Kendall*, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboord to salute the new Gouernor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could give them: they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the means he could to quench it; but all the platforme and carriages were consumed before their faces, and they could not helpe it. Two daies after he went vp to the Towne, had his Commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Then presently he began to repaire the most necessary defects: The next moneth came in the *Garland*, sent from *England* six or seuen weekes before him; so that being seuenteene weekes in her voyage, it was so tedious and grieuous to diuers of the Fresh water Passengers; that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well Sailors as Passengers. Hauing taken the best order he could for their release, passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine *Tuckars* house at the ouer-plus. Towards the last of this moneth of Nouemb. there arose a most terrible storme or *Hericano*, that blew vp many great trees by the roots: the *Warwick* that brought the Gouernor was cast away, but the *Garland* rid by her, saued herselfe by cutting downe her Masts: and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent then the first, wherein the Mount which was a frame of wood built by Master *More* for a Watch-tower to looke out to Sea, was blowne up by the roots, and all that Winter crop of corne blasted: And thus was the new Gouernor welcomed.

With the beginning of the new yeere he began his first peece of fortification, vpon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the *Treasurer* starke rotten and vnseruiceable, hee tooke nine peeces of Ordnance from her to serue other vses. The *Garland* for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to *Virginia* as she was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to returne to *England*, with all the Tabacco they had in the Ile. It was Ianuary before she departed, in which time shee failed not much to haue beene twice cast away. But those strange and vnauoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Gouernors industry then to dull it. Hauing finished the Church begun by Captaine *Kendall*, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out of the wracke *Warwicke*. Hauing an excellent Dutch Carpinter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot; he imploied him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. In February they discouered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the Coast: some thought her a *Spaniard* to view their Forts, which stand most to that part she so neerely approached; some, English: but the most, some Dutch man of Warre: The wind blew so high, they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks, but at last she bore vp roomy for the Sea, and we heard of her no more. That euening, a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a peece of Amber-greece of eight ounces, as he had twice before, which bringing to the Gouernor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court; to encourage others to looke out for more, and preuent the mischiefe insueth by concealing of it.

Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore, and sent a Letter to the Gouernor, writ in *Italian*, that they were *Hollanders* had beene in the West-Indies, and desired but to arriue, refresh themselues with wood and water, and so be gone. The Gouernor forthwith sent them to vnderstand, that being there vnder his Maiestie of *England* to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could shew a lawfull Commission for his being honestly and nobly emploied, he not his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to adventure at their perills.

But his Commission was so good, he staied there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile and Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine *Scoutane* arriuall, with many thanks to their old friend Captaine *Powell* that had conducted them thither: the Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part of it at reasonable rates, so Captaine *Scoutan* returned to the West-Indies, and Captaine *Powell* for his part in the Low-Countries. Whilst these things were in action, the Aduenturers in *England* made many a long looke for their ships; at last the *Garland* brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making vp, it caused a great suspicion there could none was good come from those Iles: where (were they but perfect in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantity of that they sell for *Verinas*, and many a thousand of it in *London* hath beene bought and sold by that title.

The Gouernor being cleere of those distractions, falls vpon the restoring of the burnt redoubt, where he cuts out a large new plat-forme, and mounts seuen great peece of Ordnance vpon new cariages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops in *England* could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himselfe of the Liturgie of *Gornsey* and *Iarse*, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced by them both, whereupon the Gouernor translated it *verbatim* out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister vpon Easter day to begin the vse thereof at *S. Georges* towne, where himselfe, most of the Councell, Officers and Auditorie receiued the Sacrament: the which forme they continued during the time of his gouernment.

Much about this time, in such a faire morning, that had inuited many Boats farre out to the Sea to fish, did rise such a *Hericano* that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boies were driuen to Sea and neuer more heard of. The ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath, and all the defectiue cariages he endeauoured to haue renewed, builded a small Boat of Cedar onely to goe with Ores, to be ready vpon any

occasion to discouer any shipping, and tooke order euery Fort should haue the like: Also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from diuers places in flotes, to rebuild the Mount, which with an vnspeakable toile, was raised seuen foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted at the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts vpon the discouery of any shipping, and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, hauing no Cattle but onely mens strengths, caused many petitions to the Gouernour, that all those generall works might cease till they had reaped their haruests, in time they were in great distresse for victuall; which hee so well answered, their owne shames did cause them desist from that importunity, and voluntarily performe as much as hee required.

Finding accidentally a little crosse erected in a by place, amongst a many of bushes, vnderstanding there was buried the heart and intrailes of Sir *George Summers*, hee resolued to haue a better memory for so worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding also a great Marble stone brought out of *England*, hee caused it by Masons to bee wrought handsomely and laid ouer the place, which hee inuironed with a square wall of hewen stone, Tombe like: wherein hee caused to bee grauen this *Epitaph* he had composed, and fixed it vpon the Marble stone: and thus it was,

In the yeere 1 6 1 1,
Noble Sir *George Summers* went hence to heauen;
Whose noble well tri'd worth that held him still imploid,
Caue him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 'twas by heauens decree, that to this place
He brought new guests, and name to mutuall grace.
At last his soule and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrailes and his heart.

Vpon the sixt of Iune began the second Assise, that reduced them to the direct forme vsed in *England*. For besides the Gouernour and Councell, they haue the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires in *England*, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly answered and respected; they performe also the duties of Iustices of Peace, within their limits. The subordinate Officers to these in euery tribe are the Constables, Head-borowes, and Church-wardens. These are [illegible]ers of the Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is

burnt: and these are the executioners of their ciuill and politicke causes.

For points of warre and martiall affaires, they haue the Gouernour for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant maior, Master of Ordinance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their seuerall officers, to traine and exercise those numbers vnder their charge, in martiall discipline.

Concerning their Courts for decision of right and iustice, the first, though last in constitution, is their generall assembly: allowed by the state in *England* in the nature of a Parliament, consisting of about forty persons; *viz.* the Gouernour, the Counsell, the Bailiffes of the tribes, and two Burgesses of each tribe chosen by voyces in the tribe, besides such of the Clergie as the Gouernour thinks most fit, to be held once a yeere, as you shall heare more thereof hereafter. The next Court is the Assise or Iayles of deliuerie, held twice euery yeere, in Christmas, and Whitson weeke, for all criminall offenders, and ciuill causes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, trespasse, battery, slander, and the like: and these are determined by a Iury of twelue men, and aboue them is also a grand Iury to examine matters of greater consequence. The last day of the Assise might also well be held a Court, for hearing the transgressions in matters of contempt, mis-behauiour towards any Magistrate, riots, seditious speakers, contemners of warrants, and such like: there are also as occasion shall require, many matters heard by the Gouernor, or his Officers, and oft iustice done in seuerall places, but those are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatiues against their Courts, &c.

At this last Assize eighteene were arrained for criminal causes, a number very extraordinary considering the place: but now occasioned by reason of the hard yeere, and the store of ill chosen new comers: of these, some were censured to the whipping post, some burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieued, the other hanged; this done, euery man returned to his home: many trials they made againe about the Warwicke, but to small purpose, her Ordnance being lashed so fast they could not be vnloosed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet some few buttes of beare being floie they got, which though it had lien six moneths vnder water was very good, notwith

standing the next yeere they recouered fiue peeces of Ordnance.

Vpon the first of August, according to the Companies instructions from *England*, began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint *George*, which was the first these Iles euer had: consisting as is said, of the Gouernour, Councell, Bailiffes, and Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bils were presented, and by him openly read in the house, also a Clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which being sent into *England*, were by a generall consent receiued and enacted, the titles whereof are these following: as for all the reasons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

The first was against the vniust sale and letting of apprentises and other seruants, and this was especially for the righting the vndertakers in *England*. The second, concerning the disposing of aged, diseased, and impotent persons, for it being considered how carelesse many are in preferring their friends, or sending sometimes any they can procure to goe, such vnseruiceable people should be returned back at their charge that sent them, rather then be burdensome to the poore Inhabitants in the Iles. The third, the necessary manning the Kings Castle, being the key of the Ile, that a garison of twelue able men should bee there alwaies resident: and 3000. cares of corne, and 1000. pounds of Tobacco payed them by the generality yeerely, as a pension. The fourth, against the making vnmarchantable Tobacco, and Officers sworne to make true trials, and burne that was naught. The fift, inioyned the erection of certaine publike bridges, and the maintenance of them. The sixt, for a continuall supply of victuall for all the Forts, to bee preserued, till some great occasion to vse it. The seuenth was, for two fixed dayes euery yeere for the Assises. The eight, commands the making of high-waies, and prohibiting the passage ouer mens grounds and planted fields, as well to preuent the spoyling of gardens, as conuenient to answer any alarum. The ninth, for the preseruing young tortoises and birds, that were carelesly destroyed. The tenth, prouided against vagabonds, and prohibited the entertainement of other mens seruants.—The eleuenth, compelled the setting of a due quantity of corne for euery family. The twelfth, the care corne being set, enioyned the keeping vp of their poultry till it was past their reaches. The thirteenth, for the preseruation of suffi-

cient fences, and against the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds. The fourteenth, granted to a leuy for a thousand pound weight of Tobacco, towards the payment of publike workes, as the bridges and the mount. The fifteenth, for the enioyning an acknowledgement and acception of all resident Gouernours, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arriuall of a legitimate successor from *England*, to preuent all vnmeet and presumptuous elections, besides it was desired by petition in *England*, the new Gouernours should liue two months as a priuate man after his arriuall, if his predecessor did stay so long, the better to learne and obserue his course. And these are the contents of those fifteene Acts, applied as you may perceiue: which the lawes of *England* could not take notice of, because euery climate hath somewhat to it selfe in that kinde in particular; for otherwise as it is conceiued, it had beene a high impudency and presumption to haue medled with them, or indeed with any such as these lawes, that had with such great iudgment and iustice alwaies prouided for.

No sooner was this businesse ouer, but the *Magazin* ship is discouered, and that night came into the Harbour, but in a very weake and sickly case, hauing cast ouer board twenty or thirty of her people, and so violent was the infection, that the most part of the sailers, as well as passengers, were so sicke, or distrad, or both, that the Master confessed, had they stayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all perished.— There arriued with this ship diuers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wiues and families: but many of them crasie by the tediousnesse of the voyage: howsoeuer most of them, by the excellent salubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, soone after recouered: yet some there were that died presently after they got ashore, it being certainly the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or lesse corrupted. By this ship the Company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the Males out of *Newgate*, the Females from *Bridewell*: As the Gouernour found it his best course, to grant out the women to such as were so greedy of wiues, and would needs haue them for better for worse; and the men hee placed in the Kings Castle for souldiers. But this bad, weake, sickly supply being dispersed for their best reliefe, by the much imployment of

his boats in remooving them, many of his owne men became infected, so that for some weekes, they were not able to doe him any seruice at all. Strict instructions also they brought for the planting of Sugar canes, for which the Iland being rockie and dry, is so vnproper, that few as yet haue beene seene to prosper: yet there are others hold the contrary opinion, that there is raine so ordinarily, the Iles are so moist, as produceth all their plants in such infinit abundance: there is no great reason to suspect this, were it rightly vsed, more then the rest. Seuenty thousand weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, she returned for *England*.— No sooner was she gone then came in another, sent by the Company and generalty, well conditioned, but shee failed not much to haue beene cast away amongst those dangerous and terrible rocks: by her came also expresse command, they should entertaine no other ships, then were directly sent from the Company: this caused much grudging, and indeed a generall distraction and exclamation among the Inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted, and sell what they had at what price the *Magazin* pleased, and to debarre true men from comming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily receiued in all the harbours in *England*. So long this ship stayed going for fraught and wages, the master not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, the Gouernour was ready to send her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the first yeere of the gouernment of C. *Butler*.

With the first of the second yeere were held the Assises, where all the Bailiffes were fined for not giuing a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was also an order to restraine the excessiue wages all handicrafts men would haue: and that the Church-wardens should meet twice a yeere, to haue all the presentments made perfect against the Assises. The Assises done, all the ablest men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their owne homes. The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for some demy Culuerings, and a large new store-house of Cedar for the yeerely *Magazines* goods: finished *Warwicks* Fort begun by Master *More*, and made a new plat-forme at *Pagits* Fort, also a faire house of lime and stone for the Townes-house. The three bridges appointed by the generall assembly, was followed with such diligence, though they were then

an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, hauing the foundation and arches in the Sea, were raised and accomplished, so that man or beast with facility might passe them.

At Whitsonday was held the fourth generall Assise at Saint *Georges*, where were tryed twenty seueral causes; foure or fiue were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houses: also an order was made, that the party cast in the triall of any cause, should pay to euery of the Iurors foure pence: moreouer, that not past ten leaues at the most should grow vpon a plant of Tobacco, and that also in the making it vp, a distinction should diligently be obserued of two kinds, a better and a worse: then they built a strong stone house for the Captaine of the Kings Castle and *corps du guard*; and repaired what defects they could finde in the plattformes and carriages.

Captaine *Powell* so oft mentioned, hauing beene in the West-Indies for the States of *Holland*, came to an ancror within shot of their Ordnance, desiring admittance for wood and water, of which hee had great need, but the Gouernor would not permit him, so he weigned and departed, whereat the company were so madded, it was not possible to constraine them to cease their exclaimations against the Companies inhibition, till they were weary with exclaiming: But still for their better defence, not thinking themselues sufficiently secure, hauing finished two new plat-formes more, arriued the Magazin ship, but her Master was dead, and many of the Passengers, the rest for most part very sicke: and withall, a strange and wonderfull report of much complaint made against the Gouernor to the Company in *England*, by some of them returned in the last yeeres shipping: but it was eight daies before she could get in by reason of ill weather, being forced againe to Sea: so that time, they kept euery night continually great fires, she might see the Ile as well by night as day: but at last she arriued, and he plainly vnderstood, he had more cause a great deale to looke for misconstruction of all his service then an acknowledgment, much lesse a recompence any better then his predecessors: but it is no new thing to requite the best desert with the most vildiest of ingratitude.

The very next daies night after the arriuall of the Magazins ship, newes was brought the Gouernor by a dismaied Messenger from *Stoak*, Mr. *Tyler*, that one hundred *Spaniards*

were landed in that part, and diuers ships discouered at Sea, whereupon he presently manned the Forts, and instantly made thitherward in person with twentie men, determining as he found cause to draw together more strength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of the next day, in stead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poore distressed *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, who in their passage from *Carthagena* in the *West-Indies*, in consort with the Spanish fleet of Plait: by the same storme that had indangered the Magazin ship, lost theirs vpon those terrible Rocks, being to the number of seuenty persons, were strangely preserued: and the manner was thus.

About Sunne-set their ship beating amongst the Rocks, some twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what treasure they could, leauing the Captaine, the Master, and all the rest to the mercy of the Sea. But a boy not past fourteene yeares of age that leaped after to haue got into the Boat, missing that hope, it pleased God he got vpon a Chest a drift by him, whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driuen neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken vp neare dead, yet well recouered. All this night the ship sticking fast, the poore distressed in her the next day spying land, made a raft, and were those gaue the alarum first a shore about three of the clocke in the after noone.— The morning after, about seuen of the clocke came in the Boat to a place called *Mangroue Bay;* and the same day their Carpenter was driuen ashore vpon a Flanke neere *Hog-Bay.* There was a Gentlewoman that had stood wet vp to the middle vpon the raft from the ship to the shore, being big with childe: and although this was vpon the thirteenth of September, she tooke no hurt, and was safely deliuered of a Boy within three daies after. The best comfort could be giuen them in those extremities they had, although some of the baser sort had beene riding some of them before the Gouernors arriuall: Also the Spanish Captaine and the chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leaue him in that manner, yet had conueyed with them the most of the money they could come by, which he easily missed; whereupon hee suddenly caused all them he accused, to be searched, and recouered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds sterling, which he deliuered into the Captaines hands, to be imploied in a generall purse towards their

generall charge: during their stay in the Iles, some of the better sort, nine or ten weeks dieted at his owne table, the rest were billited amongst the Inhabitants at foure shillings the weeke, till they found shipping for their passage, for which they paied no more then the English paied themselues; and for the passage of diuers of them, the Gouernor was glad to stand bound to the Master: some others that were not able to procure such friendship, were so constrained to stay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got so much as would transport them; and thus they were preserued, releeued, and deliuered.

In the moneth insuing arriued the second ship, and she also had lost her Master, and diuers of her Passengers: in her came two *Virginian* Women to be married to some would haue them, that after they were conuerted and had children, they might be sent to their Countrey and kindred to ciuilize them. Towards the end of this moneth came in the third ship with a small Magazin, hauing sold what she could, caried the rest to *Virginia*, and neuer did any of those Passengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good vsuages at sea; but the cleane contrary still occasioned many of those extremities. The fift of Nouember the damnable plot of the powder treason was solemnized, with Praiers, Sermons, and a great Feast, whereto the Gouernor inuited the chiefe of the *Spaniards*, where drinking the Kings health, it was honored with a quick volley of small shot, which was answered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a second volley of small shot; neither was the afternoone without musicke and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of sweet wood.

The *Spaniards* to expresse their thankfulnesse at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Gouernor of whatsoeuer he could recouer of the wracked ship; but the ships as they went out came so dangerously vpon a Rock, that the poore *Spaniards* were so dismaied, swearing this place was ominous vnto them, especially the women, that desired rather to goe a shore and die howsoeuer, than aduenture any further in such a labyrinth of dangers, but at last she got cleere without danger, and well to *England*; the other went to *Virginia*, wherein the Gouernor sent two great Chests filled with all such kinds and sorts of Fruits and Plants as their Hands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes,

Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes. Cassado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell-Peare, and the like. The ships thus dispatched, hee goeth into the maine, and so out to sea to the Spanish wracke. He had beene there before presently after her ruine, for neuer had ship a more sudden death, being now split in peeces all vnder water. He found small hope to recouer any thing, saue a Cable and an Anchor, and two good Sacars: but the wind was so high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the shore, onely with three Murderers, which were knowne to be the same Captaine *Kendall* had sold to Captaine *Kerby*, whose ship was taken by two men of warre of *Carthagena*, the most of his men slaine or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this seruice, got thus those three Murderers to their ship, and their ship thus to the *Bermudas*, as the *Spaniards* remaining related to the Gouernor and others.

Hauing raised three small Bulwarkes at *Southhamptons* Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Rauilings, which indeed is onely the true absolute peece of fortification in the Iles; Christmas being come, and the prefixed day of the Assise: diuers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boyes for stealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging reprieued. The Gouernour then sent his Lieuenant all ouer the maine to distribute Armes to those were found most fit to vse them, and to giue order for their rendezuous, which were hanged vp in the Church. About this time it chanced a pretty secret to be discouered to preserue their corne from the fly, or weeuell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before hauing made a Proclamation that all Corne should be gathered by a certaine day, because many lazy persons ranne so after the ships to get Beere and *Aquauiæ*, for which they will giue any thing they haue, much had beene lost for want of gathering. This yeare hauing a very faire crop, some of the Inhabitants, none of the best husbands, hastily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houses vnhusked, and so let it lie foure or fiue moneths, which was thought would haue spoiled it: where the good husbands husked it, and with much labour hung it vp, where the Flies did so blow on it, they increased to so many Weeuels, they generally complained of great losse; but those good fellowes that neuer cared but from hand to mouth, made their boasts, that not a

graine of theirs had beene touched nor hurt, there being no better way to preserue it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly had beene vsed. There were also very luckily about this time found out diuers places of fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute, and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like. There came also from *Virginia* a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them: much Aquauitæ, Oile, Sacke and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants. Ducks, Turkies and Limestone, of which she had plenty, and so returned. During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the mariage of one of the *Virginia* maides was consummated with a husband fit for her. attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner could be prouided; they made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former: this was done by the Master of the *Virginia* ship that professed much skill that way, but hauing fraughted his ship with Limestone, with 20000. weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, returned for *Virginia*.

* A desperate fellow being to bee arraigned for stealing a Turky, rather then he would endure his triall, secretly conueighed himselfe to Sea in a little Boat, and neuer since was euer heard of, nor is he euer like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse then a miracle. In Iune they made another triall about the Spanish wracke, and recouered another Sacre and a Murderer, also he caused to be hewed out of the maine Rocke a paire of large staires for the conuenient landing of goods and passengers, a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men, and two excellent Divers, the Gouernour went himselfe to the wracke *Warwick*, but they could recouer but one Murderer, from thence he went to the *Sea adventure*, the wracke of Sir *George Summers*, the hull though two or three fathomes in the water, they found vnperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheet Anchor, diuers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great stead. Towards the end of Iuly he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay vnder water with her hatches spiked vp, but they could not finde her, but from the Spa-

nish wracke lay there by, they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint *Georges:* some were also imployed to seeke out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell aboue all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defectiue in their colour.

The time of Captain *Butlers* gouernment drawing neare an end, the Colony presented vnto him diuers grieuances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and Company in *England* at his returne: also they appointed two to be ioyned with him, with letters of credence to solicit in their behalfe those grieuances following: First, they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for being not fewer then one thousand and fiue hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two, and they so shortned of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forsaken them. Secondly, neglected in the safety of their liues by wants of all sorts of of munition. Thirdly, they had beene censured contrary to his Maiesties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefit of their booke as they are in *England*, but by Captain *Butler*. Fourthly, they were frustrated of many of their couenants, and most extremely pinched and vndone by the extortion of the Magazine, for although their Tobacco was stinted but at two shillings sixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleased. Fifthly, their fatherless children are left in little better condition then slaues, for if their Parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be discharged: these things being perfected, there grew a great question of one *Heriot* for plotting of factions and abusing the gouernour, for which he was condemned to lose his eares, yet he was vsed so fauourably he lost but the part of one in all.

By this time it being growne past the wonted season of the comming in of ships from *England*, after a generall longing and expectation, especially of the Gouernour, whose Commission being neere vpon expiration, gaue him cause to wish for a meane of deliuerance from so troublesome and thanklesse an imploiment as he had hitherto found it: a saile is discouered, and long it was not before shee arriued in the Kings Castle-Harbour: this Barke was set out by two or three priuate men of the Company, and hauing landed her

supplies, was to goe for *Virginia;* by her the Gouernour receiued certaine aduertisements of the carriage and behauiour of the Spaniards, which he had relieued as you haue heard the yeere before; that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours against him, the which being seconded by the Spanish Ambassadour, caused the State to fall in examination about it; whereupon hauing fully cleared their ingratefulnesse and impudency, and being assured of the choice of a successor that was to be expected within fiue or six weekes; hee was desirous to take the opportunity of this Barke, and to visit the Colony in *Virginia* in his returne for *England:* leauing the gouernment to Captaine *Felgat*, Captaine *Stokes*, Master *Lewis Hewes*, Master *Nedom*, and Master *Ginner*, but now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finished. *viz.* the *Kings Castle* wherein were mounted vpon sufficient Platformes sixteene peece of Ordnances: In *Charles* Fort two; In *Southampton* Fort fiue: betwixt which and the Castle passeth the Chanell into the Harbour, secured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play vpon it. In *Coopers* Ile is *Pembrocks* Fort, where is two Peeces. The Chanell of Saint *George* is guarded by *Smiths* Fort, and *Pagits* Fort, in which is eleuen peece of Ordnance. Saint *George* towne is halfe a league within the Harbour, commanded by *Warwicks* Fort, where are three great Peeces, and on the Wharfe before the Gouernours house eight more, besides the warning Peece by the mount, and three in Saint *Katharines;* so that in all there are ten Fortresses and two and fifty peeces of Ordnance sufficient and serviceable: their formes and situations you may see more plainlier described in the Map: and to defend those, he left one thousand fiue hundred persons with neere a hundred boats, and the Ile well replenished with store of such fruits, prouisions and Poultry, as is formerly related; yet for so departing and other occasions, much difference hath beene betwixt him and some of the Company, as any of his Predecessors, which I rather wish were reconciled, then to be a reporter of such unprofitable dissentions.

For

Till trechery and faction, and auarice be gone,
Till enuy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
Till periury and idlenesse, and iniury be out,
And truly till that villany the worst of all that rout;
Vnlesse those vises banisht be, what euer Forts you haue,
A hundred walls together put will not haue power to saue.

Master Iohn Barnard *sent to be Gouernour.* 1622.

To supply this place was sent by the noble aduenturers *Iohn Bernard*, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arriued within eight daies after *Butlers* departure with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers with armes and all sorts of munition and other prouisions sufficient. During the time of his life which was but six weekes in reforming all things he found defectiue, he shewed himselfe so iudiciall and industrious as gaue great satisfaction, and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation much aduanced; but so it happened that both he and his wife died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one graue, and Master *Iohn Harrison* chosen Gouernor till further order came from *England*.

What hapned in the gouernment of Master Iohn Harrison. 1623.

They are still much troubled with a great short worme that deuours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground, and though early in the morning they kill so many, they would thinke there were no more, yet the next morning you shall finde as many. The Caterpillers to their fruits are also as pernicious, and the land Crabs in some places are as thicke in their Borowes as Conies in a Warren,

and doe much hurt; besides all this, there happened this yeere a very heauy disaster, for a ship wherein there had beene much swearing and blaspheming vsed all the voyage, and landed what she had to leaue in those Isles, iouially troliking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the powder, that at the very instant blew vp the great Cabin, and some one way and some another, it is a wonder to thinke how they could bee so blowne out of the gun-roome into the Sea, where some were taken vp liuing, so pitifully burned, their liues were worse than so many deaths, some died, some liued, but eighteene were lost at this fatall blast, the ship also immediately sunke with threescore barrels of meale sent for *Virginia*, and all the other prouision in her was thus lost.

Now to consider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, haue beene lost and preserued in those inuincible Iles, yet neuer regarded them but as monuments of miseries, though at this present they all desire them; How Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* being ready to sinke in the sea were saued, what an incredible abundance of victuall they found, how it was first planted by the English, the strange increase of Rats, and their sudden departure, the fiue men came from *England* in a boat, the escape of *Hilliard*, and the rest of those accidents there hapned, a man would thinke it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from such a Paradise of admiration who would thinke should spring such wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be sacrificed vpon the highest altars of sorrow, thus to be set vpon the highest Pinacles of content, and presently throwne downe to the lowest degree of extremity, as you see haue beene the yeerely succeedings of those Plantations; the which to ouercome, as it is an incomparable honour, so it can be no dishonour if a man doe miscarry by vnfortunate accidents in such honourable actions, the which renowne and vertue to attaine hath caused so many attempts by diuers Nations besides ours, euen to passe through the very amazement of aduentures.—Vpon the relation of this newes the Company hath sent one Captaine *Woodhouse*, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no lesse prouident then industrious and valiant: then returned report, all goeth well there. It is too true, in the absence of the noble Treasurer, Sir *Edward Sackvill*, now Earle of *Dorset*, there haue beene

such complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, then by command the Lords appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* againe Treasurer, that since then according to their order of Court he is also elected, where now we must leaue them all to their good fortune and successe, till we heare further of their fortunate proceedings

FINIS

TO HIS FRIEND

CAPTAINE SMITH,

VPON HIS DESCRIPTION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

SIR; your Relations I haue read: which shew,
Ther's reason I should honour *them* and *you*:
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,
I dare to censure thus: Your *Project's* good;
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine;
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our Posterities.
For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what ore-fils, and surfets vs in store,
To order *Nature's* fruitfulnesse a while
In that rude *Garden*, you *New-England* stile;
With present good, ther's hope in after daies
Thence to repaire what *Time* and *Pride* decaies
In this rich Kingdome. And the spacious *West*
Being still more with *English* bloud possest,
The proud *Iberians* shall not rule those Seas,
To check our ships from sailing where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to *Our*.
Much good my minde foretels would follow hence
With little labour and with lesse expence.
Thriue therefore thy *Designe*, who ere enuy:
England may ioy in *England's* Colony,
Virginia seeke her Virgin sisters good:
Be blessed in such happy neighbourhood.
Or, whatsoere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honour'd for first mouing it.

George Wither, e societate Lincol.

To that worthy and generous Gentleman, my very good friend,

CAPTAINE SMITH.

MAY Fate thy Proiect prosper, that thy name
May be eternized with liuing fame:
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert:
In spight of *Pelias* when his hate lies cold,
Returne as *Iason* with a fleece of gold.
Then after ages shall record thy praise,
That a *New-England* to this Ile didst raise:
And when thou di'st (as all that liue must die)
Thy fame liue here; thou, with Eternity.

R. Gunnel.

TO HIS WORTHY CAPTAINE,

THE AUTHOR.

OFT thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere
In bloudy wars, where thousands haue beene slaine
Then giue me leaue in this some part to beare;
And as thy seruant here to reade my name.
Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce warres of *Tranciluania:*
Long ere that thou *America* hadst seene,
Or led wast captiu'd in *Virginia;*
Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause me thinke
That thou I'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers,
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valour still hath freed)
Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers:
By God thy guide I trust it is decreed.
For me: I not commend but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her.
For it will praise it selfe in spi ht of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posterity.

Your true friend and souldier, *Ed. Robinson.*

TO MY HONEST CAPTAINE.

THE AUTHOR.

MALIGNANT Times! What can be said or done,
But shall be censur'd and traduc'd by some!
  This worthy Worke, which thou hast bought so deare,
  Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands know thee not thou art belou'd.
  And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
  Knowne and belou'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warrier yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
  I call thee *Warrier:* and I make the bolder;
  For, many a *Captaine* now, was neuer Souldier.
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue done like thee, my Muse shall raise
  Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
  To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend, sometimes your souldier, *Tho. Carlton.*

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

OF

NEW-ENGLAND.

CONCERNING this History you are to vnderstand the Letters Patents granted by his Maiesty in 1606. for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34. to 44. which was diuided in two parts: namely, the first Colony and the second: the first was to the honourable City of London, and such as would aduenture with them to discouer and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The second was appropriated to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter* and *Plimoth*, &c. and the West parts of *England*, and all those that would aduenture and ioine with them, and they might make their choise any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44. prouided there should bee at least 100. miles distance betwixt these 2. Colonies. each of which had lawes, priuileges and authoritie, for the gouernment and aduancing their seuerall Plantations alike. Now this part of *America* hath formerly beene called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuskoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and such other names as those that ranged the Coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky and full of Iles, few haue aduentured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related: notwithstanding, that honourable Patron of vertue, Sir *John Popham*, Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, in the yeere 1606. procured meanes and men to possesse it, and sent Captaine *George Popham* for President, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert* for Admirall.

Captaine *Edward Harlow* master of the Ordnance, Captaine *Robert Davis* Sargeant-Maior, Captaine *Elis Best* Marshall, Master *Seaman* Secretary, Captaine *Iames Davis* to be Captaine of the Fort, Master *Gome Carew* chiefe Searcher: all those were of the Councell, who with some hundred more were to stay in the Country: they set saile from *Plimoth* the last of May, and fell with *Monahigan* the eleuenth of August. At *Sagadahock* 9. or 10. leagues southward, they planted themselues at the mouth of a faire nauigable Riuer, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky: that extreme frozen Winter was so cold they could not range nor search the Country, and their prouision so small, they were glad to send all but 45. of their company backe againe: their noble President Captaine *Popham* died, and not long after arriued two ships well prouided of all necessaries to supply them, and some small time after another, by whom vnderstanding of the death of the Lord chiefe Iustice, and also of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*, whose lands there the President *Rowley Gilbert* was to possesse according to the aduenturers directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for *England* in the yeere 1608. and thus this Plantation was begunne and ended in one yeere, and the Country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart.

Notwithstanding, the right Honourable *Henry* Earle of South-hampton and those of the Ile of *Wight*, imploied Captaine *Edward Harlow* to discouer an Ile supposed about Cape *Cod*, but they found their plots had much abused them, for falling with *Monahigan*, they found onely Cape *Cod* no Ile but the maine, there they detained three Saluages aboord them, called *Pechmo*, *Monopet* and *Pekeniinne*, but *Pechmo* leapt ouer board, and got away; and not long after with his consorts cut their Boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes the English lost her: not farre from thence they had three men sorely wounded with Arrowes. Anchoring at the Ile of *Nohono*, the Saluages in their Canowes assaulted the Ship till the English Guns made them retire, yet here they tooke *Sekawestan*, that after he had liued many yeeres in *England* went a Souldier to the warres of *Bohemia*. At *Capawe* they tooke *Coneconam* and *Epenow*, but the people at *Agawom* vsed them kindly, so with fiue Saluages they returned for *England*, yet Sir *Francis Popham* sent

diuers times one Captaine *Williams* to *Monahigan* onely to trade and make core fish, but for any Plantations there was no more speeches. For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings, so I desired also to see this country, and spend some time in trying what I could finde for all those ill rumors and disasters.

From the relations of Captaine Edward Harlow *and diuers others.*

In the month of Aprill 1614. at the charge of Capt. *Marmaduke Roydon*. Capt. *George Langam*, Mr. *John Buley* and *William Skelton*, with two ships from *London*, I chanced to arriue at *Monahigan* an Ile of *America*, in 43. 4 of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales, for which we had one *Samuel Crampton* and diuers others expert in that faculty, and also to make trialls of a Mine of gold and copper; if those failed, Fish and Furs were then our refuge to make our selues sauers howsoeuer: we found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion, we saw many and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any. They being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the whale that yeelds Fins and Oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge he had at all of any such matter: Fish and Furs were now our guard, and by our late arriuall and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee peceiued it, wee thinking that their seasons serued at all times, but we found it otherwise, for by the middlest of *Iune* the fishing failed, yet in *Iuly* and *August* some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required: of dry fish we made about forty thousand, of Corfish about seuen thousand. Whilest the Sailers fished, my selfe with eight others of them might best be spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we got for trifles neere eleuen thousand Beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues: we ranged the Coast both East and West much further, but Eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Saluages had such commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages, though they were

without the limits of our precincts; during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Saluages habitations: with these Furres, the traine Oile and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Barke, where within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arriued backe; the best of this fish was sold for 5. li. the hundred, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pounds and 50. shillings. The other ship stayed to fit herselfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sold at *Maligo* at forty Rialls the Quintall, each hundred weighing two quintals and a halfe.—But one *Thomas Hunt* the Master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he and some few Merchants more might enioy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of those poore Saluages aboord his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their kinde vsage of me and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to those parts. Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the Coast, and called it *New England*, yet so long he and his Consorts drowned that name with the Eccho of *Cannaday*, and some other ships from other parts also, that vpon this good returne the next yeere went thither, that at last I presented this Discoure with the Map, to our most gracious Prince *Charles*, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince *Charles* was their God-father, which for your better vnderstanding both of this Discourse and the Map, peruse this Schedule, which will plainly shew you the correspondency of the old names to the new, as his Highnesse named them.

The old names.	*The new names.*
Cape *Cod*.	Cape *Iames*.
The Harbor at Cape *Cod*.	*Milforth* hauen.
Chawum.	Barwick.
Accomack.	Plimoth.
Sagoquas.	Oxford.
Massachusets *Mount*.	Cheuit *hills*.

The old names.	*The new names.*
Massachusits *Riuer.*	Charles *Riuer.*
Totan.	Famouth.
A great Bay by Cape *Anne.*	Bristow.
Cape *Tragabigsanda.*	Cape *Anne.*
Naembeck.	Bastable.
Aggawo n.	Southampton.
Smiths *Iles.*	Smiths *Iles.*
Passataquack.	Hull.
Accominticus.	Boston.
Sassanows *Mount.*	Snowdon *hill.*
Sowocatuck.	Ipswich.
Bahanna.	Dartmouth.
A good Harbor within that Bay.	Sandwich.
Ancociscos *Mount.*	Shuters *hill.*
Ancocisco.	The *Base.*
Anmoughcawgen.	Cambridge.
Kenebecka.	Edenborow.
Sagadahock.	Leth.
Pemmaquid.	S. Iohns *towne.*
Segocket.	Norwich.
Mecadacut.	Dunbarton.
Pennobscot.	Aberden.
Nusket.	Low mounds.

Those being omitted I named my selfe.

Monahigan.	Barties *Iles.*
Matinack.	Willowbies *Iles.*
Metinacus.	Haughtons *Iles.*

The rest of the names in the Map, are places that had no names we did know.

But to continue the History succeedingly as neere with the day and yeere as may bee. Returning in the Barke as is said: it was my ill chance to put in at *Plimoth*, where imparting those my purposes to diuers I thought my friends, whom as I supposed were interested in the dead Patent of this vnregarded Countrey, I was so encouraged and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts during

my life, and such large promises, that I ingaged my selfe to vndertake it for them. Arriuing at *London*, though some malicious persons suggested there was no such matter to be had in that so bad abandoned Countrey, for if there had, other could haue found it so well as I; therefore it was to be suspected I had robbed the French men in *New France* or *Cannada*, and the Merchants set me forth seemed not to regard it yet I found so many promised me such assistance, that I entertained *Michael Cooper* the Master of the Barke, that returned with me and others of the Company: how he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my publike proceeding gaue such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some few of the *Virginia* Company, as those proiects for fishing onely was so well liked, they furnished *Couper* with foure good ships to Sea, before they at *Plimoth* had made any prouision at all for me: but onely a small Barke set out by them of the Ile of *Wight*. Some of *Plimoth*, and diuers Gentlemen of the West Countrey, a little before I returned from *New England*, in search for a Mine of Gold about an Ile called *Capawuck*, South-wards from the Shoules of Cape *Iames*, as they were informed by a Saluage called *Epenew*: that hauing deluded them as it seemes thus to get home, seeing they kept him as a prisoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends, being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed vp and downe *London* for money as a wonder, and it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, then of wit, strength, and proportion: for so well he had contriued his businesse, as many reported he intended to haue surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer boord. Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him, but so resolute they were to recouer his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company; And thus they lost him, and not knowing more what to do, returned againe to *England* with nothing, which so had discouraged all your West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the Countrey, till they saw the *London* ships gone and me in *Plimoth* according to my promise, as hereafter shall be related.

I muste confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Couper*, in that they offered me that implement if I would accept it: and I finde still my

refusall incurred some of their displeasures, whose loue and fauour I exceedingly desired; and though they doe censure me opposite their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds finde, it is their error, not my fault that occasions their dislike: for hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrey, I had beene very dishonest to haue broke my promise, nor will I spend more time in discouery or fishing, till I may goe with a Company for a Plantation: for I know my grounds, yet euery one to whom I tell them, or that reads this Booke, cannot put it in practice, though it may helpe any that hath seene or not seene to know much of those parts: And though they endeuour to worke me out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should by their defailments bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse.—So that the businesse prosper I haue my desire, be it by whomsoeuer that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke, and there is more then enough for all, if they could be contented.

New England is that part of *America*, in the Ocean Sea, opposite to *Noua Albion* in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled *New England*, being in the same latitude *New France* of it is Northwards, Southwards is *Virginia* and all the adioyning continent with new *Granado*, new *Spaine*, new *Andolosia*, and the *West-Indies*. Now because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of Land, how they can be thus long vnknowne, or not possessed by the *Spaniards*, and many such like demands: I intreat your pardons if I chance to be too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which vnprosperously was attempted to be planted by the French, a Countrey farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderfull endeuours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*, whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

Virginia is no Ile as many doe imagine, but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*, whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any

Christian Inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirtie to forty eight, his Maiesty hath now enlarged his Letters Patents.— The Coast extending South-west and North-east about sixteene or seuenteene hundred miles, but to follow it aboord the shore may well be three thousand miles at the least: of which twenty miles is the most giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*, where is the London Plantation, within which is a Countrey, as you may perceiue by the Map, of that little I discouered, may well suffice three hundred thousand people to inhabit: but of it, and the discoueries of Sir *Ralph Laine* and Master *Heriot*, Captaine *Gosnold*, and Captaine *Waymouth*, they haue writ so largely, that posteritie may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that haue ranged those parts since, especially this Countrey now called *New-England*, within a kenning sometimes of the shore: some touching in one place, some in another: I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in saying, that their true descriptions were concealed, or neuer were well obserued, or died with the Authors, so that the Coast is yet still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered. I haue had six or seuen seuerall plots of those Northern parts, so vnlike each to other, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more, it may bee it was not my chance to see the best; but lest others may be deceiued as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawne a Map from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, as I passed close aboord the shore in a little Boat; although there bee many things to bee obserued, which the haste of other affaires did cause me to omit: for being sent more to get present Commodities, then knowledge of any discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would; yet it will serue to direct any shall goe that wishes to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations: what Merchandize and Commodities for their labours they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Thus you may see of these three thousand miles, more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose, no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered: as for the goodness and true substance of the Land, we are for

most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it be those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack* and *Sagadahock*, but onely here and there where we haue touched or seene a little, the edges of those large Dominions which doe stretch themselues into the maine, God doth know how many thousand miles, whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France*, can describe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substance of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, and the rest; nay, there are many haue liued fortie yeeres in London, and yet haue scarce beene ten miles out of the Citie: so are there many haue beene in *Virginia* many yeeres, and in *New England* many times, that doe know little more then the place they doe inhabit, or the Port where they fished, and when they come home, they will vndertake they know all *Virginia* and *New England*, as if they were but two Parishes or little Islands. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that thinke euery one that hath beene in *Virginia* or *New England*, vnderstandeth or knoweth what either of them are: Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of those large Territories they possess, no not so much as the true circumference of *Terra incognita*, whose large Dominions may equalize the goodnesse and greatnesse of *America* for any thing yet knowne. It is strange with what small power he doth range in the *East-Indies*, and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America:* where having so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they need not greatly feare his fury in *Sommer Iles*, *Virginia*, or *New England*, beyond whose bounds *America* doth stretch many thousand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Master *Hutson* an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know, where hee vnfortunately was left by his cowardly Company, for his exceeding deserts, to end and die a most miserable death.

For *Africa*, had not the industrious *Portugals* ranged her vnknown parts, who would haue sought for wealth amongst those fried Regions of blacke brunish *negars*, where notwithstanding all their wealth and admirable aduentures and endeauours more then one hundred and fortie yeeres, they know not one third part of those blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for euery one to manage such an affaire, as make a

discouery and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to do but meere well: some are more proper for one thing then another, and therein best to be imploied: and nothing breeds more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus, Cortes, Pizzaro, Zoio, Magilanus,* and the rest serued more then a Prentiship, to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Indies*, which to the wonder of all ages successefully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters were both wise, discreet, generous and courageous. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions, that keepe vs backe from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits, that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest power, glory, and renowne.

The Description of New England.

That part we call *New England*, is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie fiue, the very meane betwixt the North pole and the line; but that part this Discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Penobscot* to Cape *Cod*, some seuentie fiue leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I haue seene at least fortie seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast and sounded about fiue and twentie excellent good Harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for fiue hundred saile of ships of any burden: in some of them for one thousand, and more then two hundred Iles ouer-growne with good Timber of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many Harbours, as required a longer time then I had to be well obserued.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot:* Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers.

we found *Macadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemaquid*, *Nuscoucus*, *Sagadahock*, *Aumoughcowgen*, and *Kenebeke*; and to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanuck*, *Warbiggamus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Pasharanac*, &c. To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Ancocisco*, *Accomanticus*, *Passataquack*, *Agguawam*, and *Nuenkeck*: All these for any thing I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment, though most of them be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Penobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name, are *Mattahunts*, two pleasant Iles of Groues, Gardens, and Corne fields a league in the Sea from the maine: Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Topent*, *Secassaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomucack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*, *Patuxet*, *Massasoyts*, *Pakanokick*: then Cape *Cod*, by which is *Pawnet* and the Ile *Nawset*, of the language and aliance of them of *Chawum*; the others are called *Massachusets*, and differ somewhat in language, custome, and condition: for their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they haue diuers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and descriptions, more then twentie seuerall habitations and riuers that stretch themselues farre into the Countrey, euen to the Borders of diuers great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Otters, from *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahoc*. This Coast is mountainous, and Iles of huge Rockes, but ouer-growne for most part, with most sorts of excellent good woods, for building Houses, Boats, Barks or Ships, with an incredible abundance of most sorts of Fish, much Fowle, and sundry sorts of good Fruits for mans vse.

Betwixt *Sagadahock*, and *Sowocatuck*, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape *Iames* very many: especially the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long leages of diuers sorts, and Quaries of stones in other places, so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as Free-stone for building, Slate for tyling, smooth stone to make Furnasses and Forges for Glasse and Iron, and Iron Ore sufficient conueniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I thinke most of the clifts would make such

Lime-stone: if they bee not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceiue a better iudgment then mine: all which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proues as good Iron and Steele in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (hauing but men skillfull to worke the Simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and rigging of ships of any proportion and good Merchandise for their fraught, within a square of ten or fourteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to proue it within a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the Fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of fiue and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertilitie: and of all the foure parts of the world I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colony, I would rather liue here then any where, and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

The maine staple from hence to bee extracted for the present, to produce the rest, is Fish, which howbeit may seeme a meane and a base Commoditie; yet who will but truly take the paines and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see, what great aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of warre to rob the industrious innocent would procure, or such massie promises in grosse, though more are choaked then well fed with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore *Hollanders* chiefely by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by the venting this poore Commoditie to the Easterlings for as meane, which is wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rozen, Cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *English*, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but *Venice* of twice their

magnitude is so well furnished, with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of Merchandize, as well of Gold, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, pretious Stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth of Gold; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse Commodities? What voiages and discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land haue they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest Princes of the world, and neuer could the *Spaniard* with all his Mines of Gold and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and Army, halfe so truly as the *Hollanders* still haue done by this contemptible Trade of Fish. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest Mine, and the Sea the source of those siluer streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely patterne of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum Mobile* that turnes all their spheares to this height, of plentie, strength, honor, and exceeding great admiration.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie, that makes their wealth and shipping multiplicitie such as it is: and from which (few would thinke it) they should draw so many millions yeerely as they doe, as more in particular in the trials of *New-England* you may see; and such an incredible number of ships, that breeds them so many Sailers, Mariners, Souldiers and Merchants, neuer to be wrought out of that Trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they that will vse it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantity, for want of experience: and this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, their Cod and Ling vpon the Coast of *Iceland*, and in the North Seas, if wee consider what gaines the *Hamburgons*, the *Biskinners*, and *French* make by fishing; nay, but how many thousands this fifty or sixty yeeres haue beene maintained by *New found land*, where they take nothing but small Cod, whereof the greatest they make Cor-fish, and the rest is hard dried, which we call Poore-Iohn, would amaze a man with wonder. If then from all those parts such gaines is taken for this poore gaines of Fish, especially by the *Hollanders*, that hath but little of their owne, for building of ships and setting them to sea; but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many parts of the world ere

they come together to be vsed in those voiages: If these (I say) can gaine, why should we more doubt then they: but doe much better, that may haue most of all those things at our doores for taking and making, and here are no hard Landlords to racke vs with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in Law to consume vs with their many yeeres disputation for Iustice: no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders as in popular States: so freely hath God and his Maiestie bestowed those blessings, on them will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master of his owne labour and land, or the greatest part (if his Maiesties royall meaning be not abused) and if he haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp his Trade: and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but halfe that time well, which in *England* we abuse in idlenesse, worse, or as ill. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate, and as fruitfull as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this side the line, West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, disoouered as is said by Sir *Francis Drake*: East from it is the most temperate part of *Portugal*, the ancient Kingdomes of *Galicia*, *Bisky*, *Nauarre*, *Aragon*, *Cattilonia*, *Castillia* the old, and the most moderatest of *Castillia* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spaine*; which if the Histories be true, in the *Romans* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West-Indies*, the *Romans* then vsing the *Spaniards* to worke in those Mines, as now the *Spaniards* doe the *Indians*. In *France* the Prouinces of *Gascony*, *Langadocke*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Taryne*, are in the same parallel, which are the best and richest parts of *France*. In *Italy* the Prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous state of *Venice*, the Dukedomes of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Greecia* those famous Kingdomes of *Macedonia*, *Bulbulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated the most pleasant and plentifull Citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*.

In *Asia* in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *China*, besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in those most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. Southward in the same height is the richest of Gold Mines, *Chily*, and *Baldinia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c. for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknowne. Besides these reasons, mine owne eies that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes (as well as it) can finde no aduantage they haue in Nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and art; This is onely as God made it when hee created the world: Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intrailes of those Regions were sought, if their Land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of industry, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, hauing the aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of these famous Kingdomes in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions, seeing euen the very hedges doe naturally affoord vs such plentie, as no ship need returne away emptie, and onely vse but the season of the Sea. Fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages, her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originals wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said the *Hollanders* serue the Easterlings themselues, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod: The Easterlings, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare, as the Blacke Sea doth *Grecia*, *Podolia*, *Sagonia*, *Natolia*, and the *Hellespont*. Cape *Blanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugal*, and the *Leuant*, with Mulit and Puttargo. *New found land*, the most part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in *Europe*, with a thin Poore-Iohn, which hath beene so long, so much ouer-laied with Fishers as the fishing decaieth, so that many oft times are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway* and *Poland* affoords Pitch and Tarre, Masts and Yards. *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes. *France* and *Spaine*, Canuase, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oile. *Italy* and *Greece*, Silkes and Fruits. I dare boldly say, because I haue seene naturally growing or breeding in those parts, the same materials that all these are made of, they may as well bee had here, or the most part of them within the distance of seuentie leagues for some few

ages, as from all those parts vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe: but surely in *Virginia*, their most tender and daintiest fruits or commodities, would be as perfit as theirs, by reason of the heat, if not in *New England*, and with all those aduantages.

First the ground is so fertill, that questionlesse it is capable of producing any Graine, Fruits, or Seeds, you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions aforenamed: But it may not to that perfection of delicacy, because the Summer is not so hot, and the Winter is more cold in those parts we haue yet tried neere the Sea side, then wee finde in the same height in *Europe* or *Asia:* yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rocky Ile in three and forty degrees and an halfe, foure leagues from the maine in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for Sallets in Iune and Iuly. All sorts of Cattle may here be bred and fed in the Iles or Peninsulaes securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they increase (if need be) obseruing the seasons, I darst vnderrake to haue Corne enough from the Saluages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they should be vntowards, as it is most certaine they will, thirtie or fortie good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision, if they vnderstand what to doe: two hundred whereof may eight or nine moneths in the yeere be imploied in helping the Fisher-men, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish vs with other Commodities.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, heere is Cod in abundance: In May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullit and Sturgion, whose Roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo: Herring, if any desire them: I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets: but the Saluages compare the store in the Sea with the haires of their heads, and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you may haue Cod againe to make Cor-fish or Poore-Iohn: Hake you may haue when the Cod faile in Summer, if you will fish in the night, which is better then Cod. Now each hundred you take here, is as good as two or three hundred in *New found Land;* so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting and touring, is saued: And you may haue your fish at what market you will, before they haue any in *New found land*, where their fishing is chiefely but in Iune and Iuly, where it is here

in March, Aprill, May, September, October and Nouember, as is said; so that by reason of this Plantation, the Merchants may haue their fraught both out and home, which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration. Your Core-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugall*, as *Lisbone*, *Auera*, *Porta* Port, and diuers others, (or what market you please) before your Ilanders returne. They being tied to the season in the open Sea, and you hauing a double season, and fishing before your doores, may euery night sleep quietly ashore with good cheere, and what fires you will, or when you please with your wiues and family: they onely and their ships in the maine Ocean, that must carie and containe all they vse besides their fraught. The Mullus here are in that abundance, you may take them with nets sometimes by hundreds, where at Cape *Blanke* they hooke them; yet those are but a foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured, which makes me suspect they are some other kinde of fish, though they seeme the same, both in fashion and goodnesse. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed, and here the aire is so temperate, as all these at any time may be preserued. Now, young Boies and Girles Saluages, or any other bee they neuer such idles, may turne, carie, or returne a fish, without either shame or any great paine: He is very idle that is past twelue yeeres of age and cannot doe so much, and she is very old that cannot spin a threed to make Engins to catch a fish.

For their transportation, the ships that goe there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must do in *New found land* to get their fraught; but one third part of that company are onely proper to serue a stage, carie a Barrow, and turne Poore-Iohn; notwithstanding, they must haue meat, drinke, clothes, and passage so well as the rest. Now all I desire is but this, That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as shall bee presented them to serue them at that rate: and their ships returning leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouision and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding, apparell, salt, nets, hookes, lines, and such like, as they spare of the remainings: who till the next returne may keepe their Boats,

and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided, I haue men of abilitie to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon any occasion, because of the abuses that haue beene offered the poore Salnages, and the libertie that both French and English, or any that will, haue to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse: Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with euery Port, Towne, or Citie, with free power to conuert the benefit of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion, who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may begin the new Townes in *New England*, in memory of their old: which freedome being confined but to the necessitie of the generall good, the euent (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Salt vpon Salt may assuredly be made, if not at the first in ponds, yet till they be prouided this may be vsed: then the ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goats, course Cloth, and such Commodities as we want: by whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the ships that they stay not: and then if the Sailers goe for wages it matters not, it is hard if this returne defray not the charge: but care must be had they arriue in the Spring, or else that prouision be made for them against winter. Of certaine red berries called Kermes, which is worth ten shillings the pound, but of these haue beene sold for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yeerely be gathered a good quantity. Of the Muskrat may be well raised gaines worth their labour, that will endeuour to make triall of their goodnesse. Of Beuers, Otters and Martins, blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yeerely be had six or seauen thousand, and if the trade of the French were preuented, many more: 25000. this yeere were brought from those northerne parts into *France*, of which trade we may haue as good part as the *French* if we take good courses. Of Mines of Gold and Siluer, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Crystall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances: it is true indeed, I made many trialls according to the instructions I had, which doth perswade me I need not despaire but that there are metals in the Country: but I am no Alcumist, nor will promise more then I know; which is, who will vndertake the rectifying of an iron Forge

if those that buy meat and drinke, coles, ore, and all necessaries at a deare rate, gaine, where all these things are to be had for taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats, buy wood at so great a price, as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France* and *Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishment of mans life, liue well by their trade; when labour is all required to take these necessaries without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to doe much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay then wood? for the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill or barren, or as it is, seeing it is certaine it beares fruits to nourish and feed man and beast as well as *England*, and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fishes I haue related: thus seeing all good things for mans sustenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour, till that transported be increased, and all necessaries for shipping onely for labour, to which may added the assistance of the Saluages which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kinds, towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods, what gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses dwelling there, you may serue all Europe better and farre cheaper then can the Iland Fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape-blanke, or *New-found land*, who must be at much more charge then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

Two thousand will fit out a ship of 200. tunnes, and one of 100. tuns, if of the dry fish they both make fraught, that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall, but commonly it giues fifteene or twenty, especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 2. or 3000. pound, but say but ten, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate to 2000. which is the whole charge of your two ships and the equipage, then the returne of the mony and the fraught of the ship for the vintage or any other voyage is cleere gaine, with your ship of one hundred tunnes of traine Oile and Cor-fish, besides the Beuers and other commodities, and that you may haue at home within six moneths if God please to send but an ordinary passage; then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victuall, ouerplus of men and wages, with her fraught thither with necessaries for the Planters, the

Salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time: if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders Gaines, if not exceede them, hauing their fraught alwaies ready against the arriuall of the ships, this would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so incourage and imploy a great part of our Idlers and others that want imployment fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad, that could they but once taste the sweet fruits of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline to take more pleasure in honest industry, then in their humors of dissolute idlenesse.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Aire, the Land, the Fruits, their Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories, Limitations, Friends and Foes: But as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c. the most Northerne part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing amongst the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods for Deere and Beuers: the Bay is full of great Iles of one, two, six or eight miles in length, which diuides it into many faire and excellent good Harbours. On the East of it are the *Tarrentines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that liue with those people as one Nation or Family: And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high Mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrentines*, adioyning to the high Mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them fourteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next, then *Muskoucus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*: vp this Riuer, where was the Westerne Plantation, are *Aumaugueawgen*, *Kinnebeke*, and diuers others, where are planted some Corne fields. Along this Riuer thirtie or fortie miles, I saw nothing but

great high clifts of barren Rocks ouergrowne with Wood, but where the Saluages dwell there the ground is excellent salt, and fertill. Westward of this Riuer is the Country of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good Harbours. *Sawocotuck* is the next, in the edge of a large Sandy Bay, which hath many Rockes and Iles, but few good Harbours, but for Barkes I yet know; but all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre as I could see Eastward of it is nothing, but such high craggy clifty Rockes and stony Iles, that I wonder such great Trees could grow vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey rather to affright then delight one, and how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more barren, I know not, yet are those rocky Iles so furnished with good Woods, Springs, Fruits, Fish and Fowle, and the Sea the strangest Fish-pond I euer saw, that it makes me thinke, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the Vallies and Plaines and interior parts may well notwithstanding be very fertill. But there is no Country so fertill hath not some part barren, and *New England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited. As you passe the coast still westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient Harbours for small Barkes: and a good Country within their craggy clifts. *Augoan* is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea: here are many rising hils, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightfull groues: On the East an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens: there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.

Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for *Augoan* is sandy, not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceiue but the multitude of people: from hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire head land *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads: to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire Riuer and at least 30. habitations doth

posssesse this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discouer it: the Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the *Massachusits*, which is the Paradice of all those parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, saluage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all a long large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere six weeks, left nothing for vs to take occasions to examine the Inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be three thousand people vpon those Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country: we found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant. for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for Beuer skinnes, and at *Quonahasit* falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby we must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh.

Then come you to *Accomacke* an excellent good Harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but industrious people: after much kindnesse, wee fought also with them, though some were hurt, some slaine, yet within an houre after they became friends. *Cape Cod* is the next presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils, ouer-growne with shrubby Pines, hurts and such trash, but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell, on it doth inhabit the people of *Paucmet*, and in the bottome of the Bay them of *Chawum:* towards the South and South-west of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous shoule of rocks and sand, but so farre as I incercled it, I found thirty fathome water and a strong currant, which makes mee thinke there is a chanell about this Shoule, where is the best and greatest fish to be had winter and summer in all

the Country: but the Saluages say there is no Chanell, but that the Shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet* to the Ile of *Nawset*, and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. The next to this is *Capawacke*, and those abounding Countries of Copper, Corne, People and Minerals, which I went to discouer this last yeere, but because I miscarried by the way I will leaue them till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

The *Massachusets* they report sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other so farre as they haue society on each others frontiers, for they make no such voyages as from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, seldome to *Massach'set*. In the North as I haue said they haue begun to plant Corne, whereof the south part hath such plenty as they haue what they will from them of the North, and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and fowle, but both Winter and Summer hath it in one part or other all the yeere, being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the Regions betwixt the Line and the pole, but the Furs Northward are much better, and in much more plenty then Southward.

The remarkablest Iles and Mountaines for land Markes are these: the highest Ile is *Sorico* in the Bay of *Pennobscot*, but the three Iles, and the Iles of *Matinack* are much further in the Sea: *Metynacus* is also three plaine Iles, but many great Rocks: *Monahigan* is a round high Ile, and close by it *Monanis*, betwixt which is a small Harbour where we rid: in *Damerils* Iles is such ano her, *Sagadahocke* is knowne by *Satquin*, and foure or fiue Iles in their mouth. *Smiths* Iles are a heape together, none neere them against *Accominycus:* the three *Turkes heads*, are three Iles. seene farre to Seaward in regard of the Head-land. The chiefe Head-lands, are onely Cape *Tragabigzanda*, and Cape *Cod*, now called Cape *Iames*, and Cape *Anne*.

The chiefe Mountaines, them of *Pennobscot*, the twinkling Mountaine of *Acocisco*, the great Mountaine of *Sassanow*, and the high Mountaine of *Massachuset*. Each of which you shall finde in the Map, their places, forme, and altitudes. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrailes of rocky Mountaines: the Herbs and Fruits are of many sorts

and kinds. as Alkermes, Currans, Mulberies, Vines, Respises, Gooseberies. Plums, Wall-nuts, Chesse-nuts, Small-nuts, Pumpions. Gourds, Strawberies, Beanes, Pease, and Maize; a kinde or two of Flax, wherewith they make Nets, Lines, and Ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities.

Oake is the chiefe wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the soile where it groweth. Firre, Pine, Wall-nut. Chesse-nut. Birtch. Ash, Elme, Cipris, Cedar. Mulbery, Plum tree, Hazell, Saxefras, and many other sorts.

Eagles, Grips, diuers sorts of Hawkes, Craines, Geese. Brants. Cormorants. Ducks. Cranes, Swannes, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Gulls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts whose names I know not.

Whales, Gromous, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddocke. Cole. Cuske or small Ling, Sharke, Mackarell, Herring, Mullit, Base, Pinnacks, Cunners, Pearch. Eeles, Crabs, Lobsters, Mustels, Wilks, Oisters, Clamps. Periwinkels, and diuers others, &c.

Moos, a beast bigger then a Stag, Deare red and fallow, Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other, Aroughcunds. wilde Cats, Beares, Otters. Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuers other sorts of Vermin whose names I know not: all these and diuers other good things doe here for want of vse still increase and decrease with little diminution. whereby they grow to that abundance, you shall scarce finde any bay, shallow shore or Coue of sand, where you may not take many clamps or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places load your Boat if you please, nor Iles where you finde not Fruits, Birds, Crabs, and Mustels, or all of them: for taking at a low water Cod, Cuske, Hollibut, Scate. Turbut. Mackarell, or such like are taken plentifully in diuers sandy Bayes, store of Mullit, Bases, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish as many as their Net can hold: no Riuer where there is not plenty of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons: but if a man will goe at Christmas to gather Cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in Summer, he may be deceiued: so here these plenties haue each their seasons. as I haue expressed: we for the most part had little but bread and Vinegar, and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decayed; they wrought all day, lay abroad in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not

sicke: But I would wish none long to put himselfe to such plunges, except necessitie constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starue that here cannot liue if he haue sense, strength and health, for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three houres make their prouisions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage these affaires, with forty or thirty honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good Corne, Fish, and Flesh as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleasure: prouided that they haue Engines that be proper for their purposes. Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if hee haue but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by Gods blessing and his owne industry without preiudice to any, if hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine; what so truly sutes with honour and honesty, as the discouering things vnknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching vertue and gaine to our native mother Country; a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise. Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: *Rome*, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences when they grew aged; what was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience

in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealouses, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their Predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants; this is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales, and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue, and the conclusions of vice.

Then who would liue at home idly, or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue, onely to eat, drinke and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily, or by vsing that miserably that maintained vertue honestly, or for being descended nobly, and pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred in penury, or to maintaine a silly shew of brauery, toile out thy heart, soule and time basely; by shifts, tricks, Cards and Dice, or by relating newes of other mens actions, sharke here and there for a dinner or supper, deceiue thy friends by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer meanest to pay, offend the Lawes, surfet with excesse, burthen thy Countrie, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then cousen thy Kindred, yea euen thy owne brother, and wish thy Parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates, though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them, that will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would bee sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what hellish care doe such take to make it their owne misery and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most need of their imploiment, drawing by all manner of inuentions from the Prince and his honest Subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their baggs or brags were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not

assault them when, they are the onely bait to cause vs not onely to bee assaulted, but betrayed and murthered in our owne security ere wee will perceiue it.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walls, riches and pleasures last taken by the Turke, which were then but a bit in comparison of their mightinesse now, remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousnesse, at which time the good Emperour held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacy and prodigality: his pouerty when the Turke besieged the Citizens (whose merchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth) little conceiuing the desperat resolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperour so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young raw discontented Souldiers, that suddenly he, they, and their City were all a prey to the deuouring Turke, and what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their enemies to torment them, their friends and Country, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to rob you) not grudge to lend some proportion to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing.

The Romans estate hath beene worse then this, for the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them so moued the rest, that not hauing any imploiment but contemplation, their great iudgements grew to so great malice as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction; let this moue you to imbrace imployment, for those whose educations, spirits and iudgements want but your purses, not only to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue; and you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couetous, or so wilfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonnesse till they grow your masters, or become so basely vnkinde that they wish nothing but your deaths, so that both sorts grow dissolute, and although you would wish them any where to escape the Gallowes and ease your cares, though they spend you here one, two or three hundred pound a yeere, you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them to obtaine an

estate, which in a small time, but with a little assitance of your prouidence, might be better then your owne; but if an Angell should tell you any place yet vnknowne can affoord such fortunes, you would not beleeue it, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any such land, as is now the well knowne abounding *America*, much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Africa* and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*.

I haue not beene so ill bred but I haue tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery: nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent force me to these endeuours, nor am I ignorant what small thankes I shall haue for my paines, or that many would haue the world imagine them to bee of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and detractions, yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imploiment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne senselesnesse and incredulity, hoping that gaine will make them affect that which Religion, Charity and the common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in mee to deceiue my selfe, much more the King and State, my Friends and Country with these inducements, which seeing his Maiesty hath giuen permission, I wish all sorts of worthy honest industrious spirits would vnderstand, and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it, not to perswade them to goe onely, but goe with them; not leaue them there, but liue with them there: I will not say but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may bee taken may make us miserable enough: but if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected, if they want to eat, let them eat or neuer disgest mee; If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines may sute my paines, quality and condition, and if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeeres end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne; I feare not want of company sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of these Countries, and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yeerely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to preuent; for I am not so simple to thinke that euer any other motiue then wealth will euer erect there a common wealth, or draw company from their

ease and humors at home, to stay in *New-England* to effect my purposes.

And lest any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may bee had by labour and diligence; I assure my selfe there are who delight extremely in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England* to enioy it, then I should doe here to gaine wealth sufficient, and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for our pleasure here is still gaines, in *England* charges and losse, here nature and liberty affoords vs that freely which in *England* we want, or it costeth vs deerely. What pleasure can bee more then being tired with any occasion a shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Herbes, in contriuing their owne grounds to the pleasure of their owne minds, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other workes, &c. to recreate themselues before their owne doores in their owne Boats vpon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling may take diuers sorts of excellent Fish at their pleasures; and is it not pretty sport to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can hale and vere a line; hee is a very bad Fisher cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line one, two, or three hundred Cods, which dresssed and dryed, if they bee sold there for ten shillings a hundred, though in *England* they will giue more then twenty, may not both seruant, master and Merchant be well content with this gaine? if a man worke but three daies in seuen, hee may get more then hee can spend vnlesse hee will be exceedingly excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Tailer, Smith, Sailer, Forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they can eat in a weeke, or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choise, yet sell it or change it with the Fisher-men or Merchants for any thing you want, and what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt and charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweet aire from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea, wherein the most curious may finde profit, pleasure and content.

Thus though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoeuer may in other matters doe as well, for necessity doth in these cases so rule a common wealth, and each in their

seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them then ranging daily these vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking, and yet you shall see the wilde Hawkes giue you some pleasure in seeing them stoupe six or seuen times after one another an houre or two together, at the skults of Fish in the faire Harbours, as those a shore at a fowle, and neuer trouble nor torment your selues with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, See you not a Hawke; for hunting also, the Woods, Lakes and Riuers affoord not onely chase sufficient for any that delights in that kinde of toile or pleasure, but such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacie of their bodies for food, their skinnes are so rich, as they will recompence thy daily labour with a Captaines pay.

For Labourers, if those that sow Hempe, Rape, Turnups, Parsnips, Carrats, Cabidge, and such like; giue twenty, thirty, forty, fiftie shillings yeerely for an Acre of Land, and meat, drinke, and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at least as good ground may bee had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me any such should grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherless children of thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age, or young maried people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, weapons to defend them, and meet provisions for them, for any place may be ouer-laine: and it is most necessary to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practise) and sufficient masters, of all necessarie, mecanicall qualities, to take ten or twelue of them for Apprentises: the Master by this may quickly grow rich, these may learne their trades themselues or the like, to a generall and incredible benefit for King and Countrey, Master and Seruant.

It would be a History of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, their affronts and

defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honor, and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs of too much imbecilitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of these new inuentions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that doe but seeke to imitate their vnparalleld vertues, and though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprung from the Plants of their generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that we either ignorantly beleeue nothing, or so curiously contest, to preuent we know not what future euents; that we either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire Sand rather then vpon rough Rocks, iudge that we know not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wils to be idle, or as ill. And who is he hath iudgement, courage, and any industry or quality with vnderstanding, will leaue his Country, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweet *England* doth affoord to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by enioying his deserts, whose prosperitie once appearing, will encourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue its strength, ere it know wherefore. A childe can neither performe the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able: nor can an Apprentise at the first performe the part of a Master, and if twentie yeeres be required to make a childe a man, seuen yeeres limited an Apprentise for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States-man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: if perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must be Practice as well as Theoricke: Let no man then condemne this paradox opinion, to say that halfe seuen yeres is scarce sufficient for a good capacitie to learne in these affaires how to carrie himselfe. And who euer shall try in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seuen yeeres occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and in the *Interim*, all the content, rewards, gaines, and hopes, will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning,

till it be able to creepe, to stand and goe, and to encourage desert by all possible meanes; yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it will grow too fast, or euer to any thing, except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the Planters of those affaires in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyrannie, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaues, and honest men turne knaues; which hath euer beene the ruine of the most popular Common-weales, and is very vnlikely euer well to begin anew.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spaniard*, but these new conclusions in searching those vnknowne parts of this vnknowne world; by which meanes he diues euen into the very secrets of all his neighbours, and the most part of the world; and when the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had found the *East* and *West-Indies*, how many did condemne themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*, who vpon our neglect brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since we finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and Trades, and still daily doe finde, both in *Asia*, *Affrica*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*, so that there is neither Souldier nor Mechanicke, from the Lord to the Begger, but those parts affoords them all imploiment, and discharges their natiue soile of so many thousands of all sorts, that else by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* itselfe.

Now hee knowes little that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries; and seeing for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; it is strange we should be so dull, as not maintaine that which we haue, and pursue that we know: Surely, I am sure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predecessors; when if but truly they would iudge themselues, looke how inferior they are to their Noble Vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honors and liuings, which neuer were ordained for shewes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice, but to make them more able to abound in honor, by Heroicall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it

both in their purse and person they would not doe, for the good of their Commonwealth, which might moue them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designes; Religion aboue all things should moue vs, especially the Clergie, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in conuerting those poore Saluages to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spaniards* takes to bring them to their adulter'ed faith. Honor might moue the Gentry, the valiant and industrious, and the hope and assurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would seeme, and be accounted; or be we so farre inferior to other Nations, or our spirits so farre deiected from our ancient predecessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracy, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe* too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues; excusing our idlenesse and our base complaints by want of imploiment, when here is such choice of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discouering these North parts of *America*.

My second voyage to New England.

In the yeere of Lord 1615. I was imploied by many my friends of *London* and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble Knight, and a great fauourer of those actions, who perswaded the reuerend Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sutliffe*, and diuers Merchants of the West, to entertaine this Plantation. Much labour I had taken to bring the *Londoners* and them to ioyne together, because the *Londoners* haue most Money, and the Westerne men are most proper for fishing: and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to saile from *London* to *Plimoth*, then from *Plimoth* to *New-England*, so that halfe the voiage would thus be saued, yet by no meanes I could preuaile, so desirous they were both to be Lords of this fishing. Now to make my words more apparant by my deeds, to begin a Plantation for a more ample triall of those conclusions, I was to haue staied there but with sixteene men, whose names were;

Tho. Dirmer.	Gentlemen.	*Thomas Digby.*	Souldiers.
Edw. Stallings.		*Daniel Baker.*	
Daniel Cage.		*Adam Smith.*	
Francis Abbot.		*Thomas Watson.*	
Iohn Gosling.	Souldiers.	*Walter Chisell.*	Were to learne to be Sailers
William Ingram.		*Robert Miller,*	
Dauid Cooper.		*And two Boyes.*	
Iohn Partridge.			

I confesse I could haue wished them as many thousands. had all other prouisions beene in like proportion; nor would I haue had so few, could I haue had meanes for more: yet would God haue pleased we had safely arriued, I doubted not but to haue performed more then I promised, and that many thousands ere this would haue bin there ere now.— The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Saluages, especially with *Dohoday*, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in *England*, and another called *Tantum*, I caried with mee from *England*, and set on shore at Cape *Cod*; by the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue got that credit amongst the rest of the Saluages and their alliance, to haue had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had by such a kinde of exchange of their Countrey Commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then haue beene vsed with him and diuers others: I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the *Tarentines*, with a better power then the *French* did them: whose tyrannie did inforce them to embrace my offer with no small deuotion: and though many may think me more bold then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treachery, and inconstancy, hauing so desperately assaulted, and betraied many others: I say but this (because with so many. I haue many times done much more in *Virginia* then I intended here, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught mee) that to me it seemes no more danger then ordinary: and though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreat such, gentlemee leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eighteene yeeres which I haue been

conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned, there is a great difference betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from being deceiued.—Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my owne eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne proiects and endeuours, but I honor with all affection, the councell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement, so farre to obserue, as they tie me, not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imploiments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures, wherein though I haue had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Aduenturers.

Now you are to remember, as I returned first from *New England* at *Plimoth*, I was promised foure good ships ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire, to put this businesse in practise, and arriuing at *London*, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie. But to ioyne the *Londoners* and them in one, was most impossible: so that in Ianuary with two hundred pound in Chash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to the foure ships were promised me at *Plimoth*, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship went for Gold, and their priuate emulations, were extinct and qualified. Notwithstanding at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greatest of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tunnes, and another of fiftie: But ere I had sailed one hundred and twentie leagues, she brake all her Masts, pumping each watch fiue or six thousand strokes; onely her spret-saile remained to spoone before the winde, till we had re-accommodated a fury-mast to returne for *Plimoth*, or founder in the Seas.

My Vice-Admirall being lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage: now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out againe in a small Barke of sixtie tuns with

thirty men: for this of two hundred, and prouision for seuentie, which were the sixteene before named, and foureteene other Sailers for the ship: with those I set saile againe the foure and twentieth of Iune, where what befell me (because my actions and writings are so publike to the world) enuy still seeking to scandalize my endeuours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens minds, lest my owne relations of those hard euents might by some constructors bee made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukely*, a worthy Knight, and Vice-Admirall of *Deuonshire*, which was as followeth.

The Examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* John Smith, *in the returne of* Plimoth, *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukeley *Knight, the eighth of December*, 1615.

THE effect in briefe was this: being chased by one *Fry* an English Pyrat, *Edward Chambers* the Master, *John Miller* his Mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pylot, and diuers others importuned him to yeeld; much swaggering wee had with them, more then the Pirats, who agreed vpon such faire conditions as we desired, which if they broke, he vowed to sinke rather then be abused. Strange they thought it, that a Barke of threescore tuns with foure guns should stand vpon such termes, they being eightie expert Sea-men, in an excellent ship of one hundred and fortie tuns, and thirty six cast Peeces and Murderers: But when they knew our Captaine, so many of them had beene his Souldiers, and they but lately runne from *Tunis*, where they had stolne this ship, wanted victuall, and in combustion amongst themselues, would haue yeelded all to his protection, or wafted vs any whither: but those mutinies occasioned vs to reiect their offer, which afterward we all repented. For at *Fiall* we met with two French Pirats, the one of two hundred tuns, the other thirty: no disgrace would cause our mutiners fight, till the Captaine offered to blow vp the ship rather then yeeld

till hee had spent all his powder: so that together by the eares we went, and at last got cleere of them for all their shot. At *Flowers* we were againe chased with foure French men of warre, the *Admirall* one hundred and fortie tuns, and ninety men well armed: the rest good ships, and as well prouided: much parly we had, but vowing they were *Rochilers*, and had a Commission from the King onely to secure true men, and take *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and Pirats, and as they requested, our Captaine went to shew his Commission, which was vnder the broad Seale, but neither it nor their vowes they so much respected, but they kept him, rifled our ship, manned her with French men, and dispersed vs amongst their Fleet: within fiue or six daies they were increased to eight or nine saile. At last they surreadred vs our ship, and most of our prouisions, the defects they promised the next day to supply, and did. Notwithstanding, there was no way but our mutiners would for *England*, though we were as neere *New England*, till the maior part resolued with our Captaine to proceed. But the *Admirall* sending his Boat for our Captaine, they espying a Saile, presently gaue chase, whereby our mutiners finding an opportunitie in the night ran away, and thus left our Captaine in his Cap, Bretches, and Wast-coat, alone among the French men: his clothes, armes and what he had, our mutiners shared among them, and with a false excuse, faining for feare lest he should turne man of warre, they returned for *Plimoth*: fifteene of vs being Land-men, not knowing what they did. *Daniel Cage*, *Edward Stalings*, *Walter Chisell*, *David Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *John Partridge*, vpon oath affirmes this for truth before the Vice-Admirall.

Now the cause why the French detained mee againe, was the suspition this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them, that I would reuenge my selfe vpon the *Banke*, or in *New found land*, of all the French I could there encounter, and now I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouer-perswaded me: and that if I had but againe my Armes, I would rather sinke by them, then they should haue from me but the value of a Bisket; and many other such like tales to catch but opportunitie in this manner to leaue me, and thus they returned to *Plimoth*, and perforce with the French men I thus proceeded. Being a fleet of eight or nine saile, we watched for the *West-Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other eight:

still wee spent our time about the Iles of the *Assores*, where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this Discourse, thinking to haue sent it to you of his Maiesties Councell by some ship or other, for I saw their purpose was to take all they could. At last we were chased by one Captaine *Barra*, an English Pirat in a small ship, with some twelue Peece of Ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all starued. They sought by courtesie releefe of vs, who gaue them such faire promises, as at last they betraied Captaine *Wollistone* his Lieutenant, and foure or fiue of his men aboord vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce. Now my part was to be prisoner in the Gun-roome, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life, yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing well those French intents, made ready to fight, and *Wollistone* as resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused vs demurre vpon the matter longer some sixteene houres, and then returned them againe Captaine *Wollistone* and all their Prisoners, and some victuall also vpon a small composition: But whilest we were bartering thus with them: a Caruill before our faces got vnder the Castle of *Gratiosa*, from whence they beat vs with their Ordnance.

The next wee tooke was a small English man of *Poole* from *New found land:* the great Cabben at this present was my prison, from whence I could see them pillage these poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sold his poore clothes at the maine Mast by an out-cry, which scarce gaue each man seuen pence a peece.

Not long after we tooke a *Scot* fraught from Saint *Michaels* to *Bristow*, he had better fortune then the other: for hauing but taken a Boats leading of Sugar, Marmelade, Suckets, and such like, we descried foure saile, after whom we stood, who forling their maine Sailes attended vs to fight: but our French spirits were content onely to perceiue they were English red Crosses. Within a very small time after wee chased 4. Spanish ships that came from the *Indies*, we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sailes and sides with many a shot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to boord them, lost them, for which all the Sailers cursed at, [illegible] the Captaine as a professed coward.

Caruill of *Brasile* was the next wee chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteene of her men [illegible]

wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her with three hundred and seuenty chests of Sugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thousand Rialls of eight.

The next was a ship of *Holland*, which had lost her Consorts in the Streights of *Magilans*, going for the South sea she was put roomy, she also these French men with faire promises, cunningly betraied to come aboord them to view their Commission, and so make prise of all: the most of the *Dutch-men* we tooke aboord the *Admirall*, and manned her with *French-men*, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for *France*, the wounded *Spaniards* we set on shore on the Ile of *Tercera*, the rest we kept to saile the Caruill.

Within a day or two after, we met a *West-Indies* man of warre, of one hundred and sixtie tuns, a fore noone wee fought with her, and then tooke her with one thousand one hundred Hides, fiftie Chests of Cutchanele, fourteene Coffers of wedges of Siluer, eight thousand Rialls of eight, and six Coffers of the King of *Spaines* Treasure, besides the good pillage and rich Coffers of many rich Passengers.

Two moneths they kept me in this manner to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and bee a Prisoner when they tooke any English. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me on shore the Iles, or the next ship he tooke; yet at the last he was contented I should goe in the Caruill of Sugar for *France*, himselfe seeming as resolued to keepe the Seas, but the next morning we all set saile for *France*, and that night we were separated from the *Admirall* and the rich prise by a storme.—Within two daies after wee were hailed by two *West-Indies* men: but when they saw vs waife them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot thorow our maine Mast, and so left vs. Hauing liued now this Summer amongst those French men of warre, with much adoe we arriued at the *Groiion*, not farre from *Rochell*: where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction and full content, and ten thousand Crownes was generally concluded I should haue: they kept me fiue or six daies Prisoner in the Caruill, accusing me to be he that burnt their Colony in *New-France*, to force me to giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, and stand to their courtesies for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse

mischiefe: Indeed this was in the time of Combustion, that the Prince of *Cundy* was with his Army in the field, and euery poore Lord, or men in authoritie, as little Kings of themselues: For this iniury was done me by them that set out this voyage (not by the Sailers) for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few Officers aboord, and the owners on shore.

But to preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder hatches, I watched my opportunitie to get a shore in their Boat, whereinto the darke night I secretly got, and with a halfe Pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat* Ile: but the currant was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearefull night of gusts and raine in the Sea the space of twelue houres, when many ships were driuen ashore, and diuers split: (and being with skulling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke me) at last I arriued in an Oazy Ile by *Charowne*, where certaine Fowlers found me neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, cold, and hunger.— My Boat I pawned to finde meanes to get to *Rotchell*: where I vnderstood our man of war and the rich prize, wherein was the Cap. called *Mounsieur Poyrune*, and the thirty thousand Rialls of eight we tooke in the Caruill, was split, the Captaine drowned and halfe his Company the same night, within six or seuen leagues of that place: from whence I escaped in the little Boat by the mercy of God, far beyond all mens reason or my expectation, arriuing at *Rotchell:* vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiraltie, I found many good words and faire promises, and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, told me the newes they heard of my owne death: These I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held proofe sufficient. All which being performed according to their order of iustice, from vnder the Iudges hand, I presented it to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then Ambassadour at *Burdeaux*, where it was my chance to see the arriuall of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Master *Crampton*, that no lesse grieued at my losse, then willingly to his power did supply my wants, and I must confesse, I was more beholden to the French men that escaped drowning

in the man of warre, Madam *Chanoyes* at *Rotchell*, and the Lawyers of *Burdeaux*, then all the rest of my Countrymen I met in *France*. Of the wracke of the rich prise, some three thousand six hundred crownes worth of goods came ashore, and was saued with the Caruill, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge promised I should haue Iustice, what will be the conclusion as yet I know not. But vnder the couler to take Pirats and the *West-Indie* men (because the *Spaniards* will not suffer the French to trade in the *West-Indies*) any goods from thence, though they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine* are lawfull prize, or from any of his Teritories out of the limits of *Europe:* and as they betrayed me, though I had the broad-seale, so did they rob and pillage twentie saile of English men more, besides them I knew not of the same yeere.

Leauing thus my businesse in *France* I returned to *Plimoth*, to finde them had thus buried me amongst the French; and not onely buried me, but with so much infamy as such trecherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. The Chiefetaines of this mutiny that I could finde, I laid by the heeles, the rest like themselues confessed the truth, as you haue heard. Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, hauing no more meanes, I rest at your censures; but to proceed to the matter; yet must I sigh and say, How oft hath Fortune in the world (thinke I) brought seruery, freedome, and turned all diuersly. *Newfoundland* I haue heard at the first, was held as desperate a fishing as this I proiect for *New England*, *Placentia*, and the *Banke* neare also as doubtfull to the French: But for all the disasters hapned me, the businesse is the same it was, and the fiue ships went from *London*, whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes, found fish so much, that neither *Iseland* man, nor *Newfoundland* man I could heare of hath bin there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither. So that vpon the good returne of my *Vice-Admirall*, this yeere are gone 4 or 5 saile from *Plimoth*, and from *London* as many, only to make voyages of profit: whereas if all the English had bin there till my returne, put all their returnes together, they would scarce make one a sauour of neere a dozen I could nominate, except one sent by Sir *Francis Popam;* though there be fish sufficient, as I am perswaded, to fraught yeerely foure or fiue hundred Saile, or as many as will goe.

For this fishing stretcheth along the Sea Coast from Cape *Iames* to *Newfoundland*, which is seuen or eight hundred miles at the least, and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yere long, keeping their haunts and feedings, as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But all men are not such as they should be, that haue vndertaken those voyages: All the *Romans* were not *Scipioes*, nor *Carthagenians Hanibals*, nor all the *Genweses Columbusses*, nor all the *Spaniards Cortieses:* had they dined no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then we, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidental chances, they had neuer beene remembered as they are, yet had they no such certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry. *Noe* and his family began againe the second Plantation; and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Countrey another, and so the world to that estate it is: but not without much hazard, trauell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy Fathers, and their memorable off-spring, not beene more diligent for vs now in these ages, then we are to plant that yet is vnplanted for the after liuers. Had the seed of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more dangers to teach the Gospell then we, euen wee our selues had at this present beene as saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage, yet vnciuilized. The *Hebrewes* and *Lacedemonians*, the *Gothes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Teritories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden Pharises, but industrious Iron steeled Publicans: They regarded more prouisions and necessaries for their people, then Iewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselues; Riches were their Seruants, not their Masters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tirants) their people as Children, not as Slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them: and let none thinke they incountred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath euer beene the worke of the greatest Princes of the Earth, but planting of Countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane

Nations to ciuilitie and humanitie, whose eternall actions fills our Histories.

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, whose euer-liuing actions before our eies will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties, in our pietie and religion. We owe our God, our King and Countrey, and want of Charitie to those poore Saluages, whose Countrey wee challenge, vse and possesse; except wee be but made to vse, and marre what our fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them to prouide that doth maintaine vs, and basenesse in vs to doe the like for others? Surely no. Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue, to carie our soules to heauen or hell. Seeing honor is our liues ambition, and our ambition after death to haue an honorable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let vs imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors: to conclude with *Lucretius*.

> It's want of reason, or its reasons want
> Which doubts the minde and iudgement, so doth dant,
> That those beginnings makes men not to grant.

John Smith writ with his owne hand.

Here followeth a briefe Discourse of the Trials of New England, *with certaine Obseruations of the* Hollanders *vse and gaine by fishing, and the present estate of the happy Plantation, begun but by sixtie weake men, in the yeere of our Lord* 1620, *and how to build a fleet of good ships to make a little Nauy Royall, by the former Author.*

[M. DEE HIS REPORT.]

He saith, that it is more then foure and forty yeeres agoe, and it is more then fortie yeeres agoe since he writ it: that the Herring Busses out of the Low Countries vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred French men, and three or foure hundred saile of *Flemings*. The Coast of *Wales* and *Lancashire* was vsed by 300 Saile of Strangers. *Ireland* at *Lehamore*, fraughted yeerely three hundred saile of *Spaniards*, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the straight to haue tribute for fishing. *Black Rocke* was yerely fished by three or foure hundred saile of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Biskiners*.

The *Hollanders* raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, thirty thousand pounds: English and French, by Salt-fish, Poore-Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, three hundred thousand pounds: *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, one hundred thousand pounds: Cape *Blanke* for Tunny and Mullit, by the *Biskiners* and *Spaniards*, thirty thousand pounds.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yeerely tribute of the Fishers, for Tunny, Mullit, and Porgos, more then ten thousand pounds. *Lubecke* hath seuen hundred ships: *Hambrough* six hundred; *Emden* lately a Fisher towne, one thousand foure hundred, whose customes by fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be. *Holland* and *Zeland* not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirty walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, and twenty thousand saile of Ships and Holes: three thousand six hundred are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seuen hundred Pinkes and Well-Boats, seuen hundred Fraud Boats, Britters, and Tode-Boats, with thirteene hundred Busses, besides three

hundred that yeerely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for Gold: and fifteene yeeres agoe they had more then an hundred and sixteene thousand Sea-faring men.

These fishing ships doe take yeerely two hundred thousand last of fish, twelue barrels to a last, which amounts to 300000. pounds by the fisher mens price, that 14. yeeres agoe did pay for their tenths three hundred thousand pound, which venting in *Pumerland*, *Sprustie*, *Denmarke*, *Lofeland*, *Russia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or else where, &c. makes their returnes in a yeere about threescore and ten hundred thousand pounds, which is seuen millions; and yet in *Holland* there is neither matter to bvild ships nor merchandize to set them forth, yet by their industry they as much increase as other nations decay: but leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the North Sea with *Island* and the *Sound*, *Newfound-land* and Cape *Blanke*, doe serue all Europe, as well the land townes as ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of staple fish, which is transported from whence it is taken many a thousand mile, *viz.* Herring, salt fish, Poore-Iohn, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Cauiare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them may be had in a land more fertill, temperate and plentifull of all necessaries, for the building of ships, boats and houses, and the nourishment of man, the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates, at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation.—But *New Englands* fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowles, Corne or other refreshings needfull, and the *Terceras*, *Moderas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Prouances*, *Sauoy*, *Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare and Buttargo. as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Lithuania* or *Germany* for their Herring, which is heare also in abundance for taking: they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tar, Sope-ashes, Cordage, Flax, Wax, and such like commodities; wee Wines, Oiles, Sugars, Silkes, and such merchandize as the Straits

accord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs, besides the increase of shipping and Marriners: and for proofe hereof,

In the yeere of our Lord 1614. you haue read how I went from *London*: also the next yeere 1615. how foure good ships went from *London*. and I with two more from *Plimoth*, with all our accidents, successes and returnes: in the yeere 1616. wee I returned from *France*, the Londoners for all their losse by the Turkes, sent foure ships more; foure more also went from *Plimoth:* after I returned from *France*, I was persuaded againe to goe to *Plimoth* with diuers of my friends with one hundred pound for our aduentures besides our charges, but wee found all things as vntoward as before, and all their great promises nothing but aire yet to prepare the voyage against the next yeere, hauing acquainted a great part of the Nobility with it, and ashamed to see the Prince his Highnesse till I had done some what worthy his Princely view; I spent that summer in visiting the Cities and Townes of *Bristoll*, *Exeter*, *Bustable*, *Bodnam*, *Perin*, *Foy*, *Milborow*, *Saltash*, *Dartmouth*, *Absom*, *Tattnesse*, and the most of the Gentry in *Cornewall* and *Denonshire*, giuing them Bookes and Maps, shewing how in six moneths the most of those ships had made their voyages, and some in lesse, and with what good successe, by which incitation they seemed so well contented, as they promised twenty saile of ships should goe with mee next yeere, and in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne Commissioners in behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Company, and them hereafter that should be ioyned to them, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters-Patents so to be nominated. Halfe the fruits of our endeuours to be theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the business is made plaine and likely to prosper, some of them would not onely forget me and their promises, but also obscure me as if I had neuer beene acquainted in the business, but I am not the first they haue deceiued.

[1618] There was foure good ships prepared at *Plimoth*, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two [illegible] and, the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned [illegible] to *Plimoth*, and her men in health, within [illegible] the other of fourescore tunnes went for bilbow with dry fish and made a good returne. In this

voyage *Edward Rowcroft*, alias *Stallings*, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with me in *Virginia*, and was with me also when I was betrayed by the French, was sent againe in those ships, and hauing some wrong offered him there by a French man, he tooke him, and as he writ to me, went with him to *Virginia* with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare: he had not past ten or twelue men, and knew both those countries well, yet he promised me the next spring to meet me in *New-England*, but the ship and he both perished in *Virginia*.

This yeere [1619] againe, diuers ships intending to goe from *Plimoth*, so disagreed, there went but one of two hundred tunnes, who stayed in the Countrey about six weeks, which with eight and thirty men and boies had her fraught, which she sold at the first penny for 2100. besides the Furres: so that euery poore Sailer that had but a single share had his charges and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seuen months worke. Master *Thomas Dirmire* an vnderstanding and industrious Gentleman, that was also with me amongst the Frenchmen, hauing liued about a yeere in *Newfoundland*, returning to *Plimoth*, went for *New-England* in this ship, so much approued of this Countrey, that he staied there with fiue or six men in a little Boat, finding two or three French men amongst the Saluages who had lost their ship, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the Coast to *Virginia*, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed, thence returned to *New England* againe, where hauing beene a yeere, in his backe returne to *Virginia* he was so wounded by the Saluages, he died vpon it; let not men attribute these their great aduentures, and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserue them with so small meanes to doe so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an incouragement to those our poore vndertakings, and as warnings for vs not to vndertake such great workes with such small meanes, and this for aduantage as they writ vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by ciuill warres and a mortall disease, for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Saluages, there is scarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them touched with any sicknesse but one poore French man that died:

They say this plague vpon them thus sore fell,
It was because they pleas'd not *Tantum* well.

From the West Country to make triall this yeere [1620] onely to fish, is gone six or seuen saile, three of which I am certainly informed made so good a voyage, that euery Sailer that had a single share had twenty pound for his seuen moneths work, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now although these former ships haue not made such good voiages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection; in despight of all detractors and calumniations the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me: But,

A due desert, for fortune makes prouision
For Knaues and Fooles, and men of base condition.

Now all these proofes and this relation I now called *New-Englands* triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed, one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the vse of a stocke of fiue thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour; neere a yeere I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment, then to haue beene in *New-England* about my businesse but with bred and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest.

A Plantation in New-England.

VPON these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen, and Merchants of *London* and other places, prouided two ships, the one of a hundred and threescore tunnes, the other of threescore and ten, they left the Coast of *England* the two [one] and thirtieth of August, with about a hundred and twenty persons, but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimoth*, where discharging her and twenty passengers; with the greater ship, and one hundred passengers besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember fell with Cape *Iames*, but being pestred nine weekes in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their Cabins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea; then for want of experience, ranging two and againe six weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture, forty of them died, and threescore were left in very weake estate at the ships comming away, about the fifth of Aprill following, and arriued in *England* the sixth of May. Though the Harbour be good, the shore is so shallow, they were forced to wade a great way vp to the knees in water, and vsed that that did them much hurt: and little fish they found but Whailes, and a great kinde of Mustell so fat, that few did eat of them that were not sicke: these miseries occasioned some discord, and gaue some appearance of faction, but all was so reconciled, that they vnited themselues by common consent vnder their hands, to a kinde of combination of a body politike, by vertue whereof to inact and constitute lawes and ordinances, and Officers from time to time, as should bee thought most conuenient for their generall good.

Sixteene or seuenteene daies they could doe little for want of their Shallop which was amending, yet Captaine *Miles Standish*, vnto whom was ioyned in Councell, *William Bradfor*, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Tilly*, went well armed a shore, and by that time they had gone a mile, met fiue or six Indians that fled into the Woods: we traced them by the footing eight or ten miles, then the night approaching we made a fire, by which we lay that night, and the next morning followed the Sauages by their tract, thinking to finde

their habitations, but by the way we found a Deere amongst many faire springs of water, where we refreshed our selues; then we went a shore and made a fire, that they at the ship might perceiue where we were, and so marched to a place where we supposed was a Riuer; by the way we saw many Vines, Saxefras, haunts of Deere and Fowle, and some fifty Acres of plaine ground had beene planted by the Indians, where were some of their graues; from thence we followed a path that brought vs through three or foure fields that had bin planted that yeere; in one graue we digged, we found a basket or two of Indian Corne, so much as we could carry we tooke with vs, the rest we buried as we found it, and so proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not such a Harbour as we expected; and so we returned, till the night caused vs take vp our lodging vnder a tree, where it rained six on seuen hours: the next morning as we wandred, we passed by a tree, where a young sprig was bowed downe ouer a bough, and some Acornes strewed vnder it, which was one of their Gins to a catch a Deere, and as we were looking at it, *Bradford* was suddenly caught by the leg in a noosed Rope, made as artificially as ours; as we passed we see a lease of Bucks, sprung some Partriges, and great flocks of wilde Geese and Ducks, and so we returned well wearied to ourship.

Master *Iones* our Master with foure and thirty men, also went vp and downe in the frost and snow, two or three daies in the extremity of the cold, but could finde no harbour; only among the old graues we got some ten bushels of Corne, some Beanes and a bottle of Oile; and had we not thus haply found it, we had no Corne for seede, so that place we euer called *Corne-hill*: the next day Master *Iones* with the Corne and our weakest men returned to the ship, but eighteene of vs quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, we found in the Snow in a field a greater hill or graue then the rest, digging it we found first a Mat, vnder that a boord three quarters long, painted and carued with three Tyns at the top like a Cronet, betweene the Mats also were Bowles, Traies and Dishes and such trash, at length we found a faire new Mat, and vnder that two bundles, the one bigger the other lesse; in the greater we found a great quantity of fine red powder like a kinde of imbalmement, and yeelded a strong but no offensiue smell, with the

bones and skull of a man that had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed, a Knife, a Pack-needle, and two or three old Iron things was bound vp in a Sailers canuase Cassocke, also a paire of cloth Breeches; in the lesse bundle we found likewise of the same powder, and the bones and head of a little childe: about the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and braslets of white beades, there was also a little Bow, and some other odde knacks, the prettiest we tocke, and couered againe the corps as they were: not farre from thence were two of their houses, where were a great deale of their miserable houshold stuffe, which we left as wee found, and so returned to our Boat, and lay aboord that night.

Many arguments we had to make here our Plantation or not; in the *Interim*, Mistris *White* was brought to bed of a young sonne, which was called *Perigrine:* and a Sailer shooting at a Whale, his peece flew in peeces stocke and all, yet he had no hurt. A foolish boy discharging his fathers peece hard by halfe a barrell of Powder, and many people by it, it pleased God it escaped firing, so that no hurt was done.

But to make a more certaine discouery where to seat our selues, Captaine *Standish*, Master *Carver*, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winsloe*, *Iohn Tilly*, *Edward Tilly*, with diuers others to the number of seuenteene, vpon the sixt of December set ssile, and hauing sailed six or seuen leagues, we espied eight or ten Saluages about a dead Grampus: still following the shore we found two or three more cast vp by the ill weather, many we see in the water, therefore we called it *Grampus Bay:* Ships may ride well in it, but all the shore is very shallow flats of sand; at last seuen or eight of vs went a shore, many fields we saw where the Saluages had inhabited, and a buriall place incompassed with a Palizado, so we returned to our Shallop, in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of Wolues and Foxes: in the morning as we were ready to goe into our Shallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians, and with all their Arrowes flying amongst vs, some of our men being in the boat, and their Armes a shore, so well it chanced, Captaine *Standish* with two or three more discharged their peeces till the rest were ready, one Saluage more stout than the rest kept vnder a tree till he had shot three or foure Arrowes, and endured three or foure Musket shot, but at last they all

fled: this was about breake of day in the morning when they saw vs, and we not them.

Hauing the winde faire, we sailed along the coast 8. or 10. leagues, thinking to haue got to a Harbour where one of our company had beene, within 8. leagues of Cape *Cod*, for neither cricke nor Harbour in this bay we could finde; and the wind so increased, our Rudder broke, and our Mast flew ouer-boord, that we were in danger to be cast away, but at last it pleased God we were in a harbor we knew not, thinking it one we were acquainted with, this we found to be an Ile where we rid that night, and hauing well viewed the land about it, and sounded the Bay to be a good Harbour for our ship, compassed with good land, and in it, two faire Iles, where there is in their seasons immumerable store of all sorts of fish and fowle, good water, much plaine land, which hath beene planted; with this newes we returned to our ship, and with the next faire wind brought her thither, being but within the sight of *Cape Cod*: in the meane time *Goodwife Alderton* was deliuered of a sonne, but dead borne. Vpon the 26. of December so many as could went to worke vpon the hill, where we purposed to build our Platforme for our ordnance, which doth command all the Plaine and the Bay, and and from whence wee may see far into the Sea, and be easily impaled, so in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and diuided our company into 19. families, alotting to euery person halfe a poule in bredth and three in length, and so we cast lots where euery man should lie, which we staked out, thinking this proportion enough at the first to impale for lodgings and gardens.

Francis Billington from the top of a tree seeing a great water some three miles from vs in the land, went with the Masters Mate, and found it two great Lakes of fresh water, the bigger fiue or six miles in circuit, and an Ile in it of a Cables length square; the other three miles in compasse, full of fish and fowle, and two brooks issuing from it, which will be an excellent helpe in time for vs, where they saw seuen or eight Indian horses, but no people. Foure being sent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them straggling into the woods was lost, for comming to a Lake of water they found a great Deere, hauing a mastine Bitch and a Spaniell with them, followed so farre they could not finde the way backe, that afternoone it rained, and did freeze and snow at

night; their apparell was very thin, and had no weapons but two sickles, nor any victuals, nor could they finde any of the Saluages habitations: when the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed then the earth, nor couerture then the skies, but that they heard, as they thought, two Lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, so not knowing what to doe, they resolued to climbe vp into a tree, though that would be an intollerable cold lodging, expecting their comming they stood at the trees root, and the bitch they held fast by the necke, for she would haue beene gone to the Lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them, so they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning trauelling againe, passing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the Saluages had burnt 4. or 5. miles in length, which is a fine champion Country, in the afternoone they discouered the two Iles in their Bay, and so that night neere famished they got to their Plantation, from whence they had sent out men euery way to seeke them; that night the house they had built and thatched, where lay their armes, bedding, powder, &c. tooke fire and was burnt, the Coast is so shoule, the ship rides more then a mile from the Fort, but God be thanked no man was hurt though much was burnt.

All this time we could not haue conference with a Saluage, though we had many times seene them and had many alarums, so that we drew a Councell, and appointed Captaine *Standish* to haue the command of all martiall actions, but euen in the time of consultation the Saluages gaue an alarum: the next day also as wee were agreeing vpon his orders, came a tall Saluage boldly amongst vs, not fearing any thing, and kindly bade vs welcome in English; he was a *Sagamos*, towards the North, where the ships vse to fish, and did know the names of most of the Masters that vsed thither: such victuall as we had we gaue him, being the first Saluage we yet could speake with, he told vs this place where we were was called *Patuxet*, and that all the people three or foure yeeres agoe there died on the plague: in a day or two we could not be rid of him, then he returned to the *Massasoyts* from whence he came, where is some sixty people, but the *Nawsits* are 100. strong, which were they encountred our people at the first. Two daies after this *Samoset*, for so was his name, came againe, and brought fiue or six of the *Mas-*

sasoyts with him, with certaine skinnes, and certaine tooles they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarums: much friendship they promised and so departed, but *Samoset* would not leaue vs, but fained himselfe sicke, yet at last he went to entreat the Saluages come againe to confirme a peace: now the third time, as we were consulting of our Marshall orders, two Saluages appeared, but when we went to them they vanished: not long after came *Samoset* and *Squanto*, a natiue of *Patuxet* where we dwell, and one of them carried into *Spaine* by *Hunt*, thence brought into *England*, where a good time he lined; and now here signified vnto vs, their great *Sachem* of *Massasoyt*, with *Quadaquina* his brother, and all their men, was there by to see vs: not willing to send our Gouernour, we sent *Edward Wollislo* with presents to them both, to know their minds, making him to vnderstand by his Interpreters how King *Iames* did salute him and was his friend; after a little conference with twenty of his men, he came ouer the brooke to our Plantation, where we set him vpon a rug, and then brought our Gouernour to him with Drums and Trumpets; where after some circumstances, for they vse few compliments, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

That neither he nor any of his should iniury or doe hurt to any of vs; if they did, he should send vs the offender, that we might punish him, and we would doe the like to him: if any did vniustly warre against him, we would aid him, as he should vs against our enemies, and to send to his neighbour confederates to certifie them of this, that they might likewise be comprised in these conditions, that when any of them came to vs, they should leaue their Bow and Arrowes behinde them, as we would our peeces when we came to them. all which the King seemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers, in his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech: in his attire little differing from the rest: after all was done, the Gouernour conducted him to the brooke, but kept our hostage till our messengers returned: in like manner we vsed *Quadaquina*, so all departed good friends.

Two of his people would haue staied with vs, but wee would not permit them, onely *Samoset* and *Squanto* wee entertained kindly; as yet wee haue found they intend to keepe promise, for they haue not hurt our men they haue found straggling

in the Woods, and are afraid of their powerfull Aduersaries the *Narrohiggansets*, against whom hee hopes to make vse of our helpe. The next day *Squanto* went a fishing for Eeles, and in an houre he did tread as many out of the Ose with his feet as he could lift with his hand, not hauing any other instrument.

But that we might know their habitations so well as they ours, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Winslo* had *Squantum* for their guide and Interpreter; to *Packanoki*, the habitation of the King of *Massasoit*, with a red horsemans coat for a present, to entreat him by reason we had not victuall to entertaine them as we would, he would defend his people so much from visiting vs: and if hee did send, he should alwaies send with the Messenger a copper Chaine they gaue him, that they might know he came from him, and also giue them some of his Corne for seede: that night they lodged at *Namascet*, some fifteene miles off: by the way we found ten or twelue women and children that still would pester vs till we were weary of them, perceiuing it is the manner of them, where victuall is to bee gotten with most ease, there they will liue: but on that Riuer of *Namaschet* haue beene many habitations of the Saluages that are dead, and the land lies waste, and the Riuer abounding with great plenty of fish, and hath beene much frequented by the French.

The next day trauelling with sixe or seuen Indians, where we were to wade ouer the Riuer, did dwell onely two old men of that Nation then liuing, that thinking vs enemies, sought the best aduantage they could to fight with vs, with a wonderfull shew of courage, but when they knew vs their friends they kindly welcomed vs: after we came to a towne of the *Massasoits*, but at *Pakanoki* the King was not: towards night he arriued and was very proud, both of our message and presents, making a great oration to all his people, Was not he *Massasoit*, Commander of the country about him, was not such a towne his, and the people of it, and 20. townes more he named was his? and should they not bring their skins to vs? to which they answered, they were his and they would; victuall they had none, nor any lodging, but a poore planke or two, a foot high from the ground, wheron his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin Mat vpon them, two more of his chiefe men pressed by and vpon vs, so that we were worse weary

of our lodging then of our iourney. Although there is such plenty of fish and fowle and wild beasts, yet are they so lasie they will not take paines to catch it till meere hunger constraine them for in two or three daies we had scarce a meales meat, whereby we were so faint, we were glad to be at home: besides what for the fleas, and their howling and singing in the night in their houses, and the *Musketas* without doores, our heads were as light for want of sleepe, as our bellies empty for want of meat. The next voiage we made was in a Shallop with ten men to *Nawsit*, sixteene miles from vs, to fetch a Boy was lost in the Woods we heard was there, whom *Aspinet* their King had bedecked like a saluage, but very kindly he brought him to vs, and so returned well to *Patuyet* [Patuxet.]

[1621] Immediately after the arriuall of the last ship, they sent another of fiue and fifty tuns to supply them: with seuen and thirty persons they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimoth*, and arriued in *New-England* at *New-Plimoth*, now so called the 11. of *Nouember*, where they found all the people they left so ill, lusty and well for all their pouerties, except six that died: a moneth they stayed ere they returned to *England*, loaded with Clap-boord, Wainscot and Wallnut with about three hogs-heads of Beuer skinnes the 13. of December: and drawing neere our coast was set on by a French man set out by the Marquesse of *Cera*, Gouernour of Ile *Dew*, where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and company, tooke from them to the value of 500 pound, and after 14. daies sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquesse and his hungry seruants.

Now you are to vnderstand this 37. brought nothing, but relied wholly on vs to make vs more miserable then before, which the *Sachem Couanacus* no sooner vnderstood, but sent to *Tusquantum* our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes in a Snakes skinne; *Tusquantum* being absent, the Messenger departed, but when we vnderstood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and shot, with an absolute defiance, which caused vs finish our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two Saluages, *Tusquantum* and *Hobbamock*, grew such great emulation, we had much adue to know which best to trust. In a iourney we vndertooke

in our way we met a Saluage of *Tusquantums*, that had cut his face fresh bleeding, to assure vs *Massasoyt* our supposed friend, had drawne his forces to *Packanokick* to assault vs.—*Hobomak* as confidently assured vs it was false, and sent his wife as an espy to see; but when she perceiued all was well, shee told the King *Massasoyt* how *Tusquantum* had abused him, diuers Saluages also hee had caused to beleeue we would destroy them, but he would doe his best to appease vs; this he did onely to make his Country-men beleeue what great power hee had with vs to get bribes on both sides, to make peace or warre when he would, and the more to possesse them with feare, he perswaded many we had buried the plague in our store house, which wee could send when we listed whither wee would, but at last all his knauery being discouered, *Massasoyt* sent his knife with Messengers for his head or him, being his subiect; with much adoe we appeased the angry King and the rest of the Saluages, and freely forgaue *Tusquantum*, because he speaking our language we could not well be without him.

A iourney to the Towne of Namaschet, *in defence of the King of* Massasoyt, *against the* Narrohiggansses, *and the supposed death of* Squantum.

A GREAT difference there was betwixt the *Narrohigganses* and the *Massasoytes*, that had alwaies a iealousie: *Coubatant* one of their pretty *Sachems* was too conuersant with the *Narrohigganses*, this *Coubatant* liued much at *Namaschet*, and much stormed at our peace with his King and others: also at *Squantum*, and *Tokamahamon*, and *Hobomak* our friends, and chiefe occasioners of our peace, for which he sought to murther *Hobomak*, yet *Tokamahamon* went to him vpon a rumour he had taken *Masasoyt* prisoner, or forced him from his Country, but the other two would not, but in priuate to see if they could heare what was become of their King: lodging at *Namaschet* they were discouered to *Coubatant*, who surprized the house and tooke *Squantum*, saying, if hee were dead the English had lost their tongue; *Hobomak* seeing that,

and *Coubatant* held a knife at his brest, being a strong lusty fellow, brake from them and came to *New-Plimoth*, full of sorrow for *Squantum*, whom he thought was slaine.

The next day we sent ten men with him armed to be reuenged of *Coubatant*, who conducted vs neere *Namaschet*, where we rested and refreshed our selues til midnight, and then we beset the house as we had resolued; those that entred the house demanded for *Coubatant*, but the Saluages were halfe dead with feare, we charged them not to stirre, for we came to hurt none but *Coubatant* for killing *Squantum*, some of them seeking to escape was wounded, but at last perceiuing our ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was gone and all his men, and *Squantum* was yet liuing, and in the towne: in this hurly burly we discharged two peeces at randome, which much terrified all the inhabitants except *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not the end of our comming, yet assured themselues of our honesties, that we would not hurt them; the women and children hung about *Hobomak*, calling him friend, and when they saw we would hurt no women, the young youths cryed we are women; to be short, we kept them all, and whilest we were searching the house for *Coubatant*, *Hobomak* had got to the top, and called *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed, others naked, those that had bowes we tooke them from them, promising them againe when it was day: the house wee tooke for our quarter that night and discharged the prisoners, and the next morning went to breakfast to *Squantums* house; thither came all them that loued vs to welcome vs, but all *Coubatants* faction was fled, then we made them plainly know the cause of our comming, and if their King *Massasoyt* were not well, we would be reuenged vpon the *Narrohiggansets*, or any that should doe iniury to *Hobomak's Squantum*, or any of their friends: as for those were wounded we were sorry for it, and offered our Surgion should heale them, of this offer a man and a woman accepted, that went home with vs, accompanied with *Squantum*, and many other knowne friends, that offered vs all the kindnesse they could.

From the West of *England* there is gone ten or twelue ships to fish, which were all well fraughted: those that came first at Pilbow, made seuenteene pound a single share, besides Beuers, Otters, and Martins skinnes: but some of the rest that

came to the same ports, that were all ready furnished, so glutted the market, that the price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, that they are a preparing to goe againe.

[1622] There is gone from the West Country onely to fish, fiue and thirtie ships, and about the last of Aprill two more from *London*; the one of one hundred tunnes, the other of thirtie with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation. Now though the *Turke* and *French* hath beene some what too busie in taking our ships, would all the Christian Princes be truly at vnitie, as his Royall Maiestie our Soueraigne King *Iames* desireth, seuentie Saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the Leuant, and make such a guard in the Straights of *Hellespont*, as would make the great *Turke* himselfe more affraid in *Constantinople* then the smallest Red-Crosse that crosses the Seas would be, either of any French *Pickarown*, or the Pirats of *Algere*.

An abstract of diuers Relations sent from the Colony in New-England, *Iuly* 16. 1622.

Since the massacre in *Virginia*, though the *Indians* continue their wonted friendship, yet wee are more wary of them then before; for their hands hath beene imbrued in much English bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force, and we haue had small supplies of any thing but men. Here I must intreat a little your fauours to digresse, they did not kill the English in *Virginia*, because they were Christians: but for their weapons and Copper, which were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their dens, which Lions and Tigers will not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, and discourage any in *Virginia* or *New-England*: No, for I haue tried them both, as you may reade at large in the History of *Virginia*; notwithstanding since I came from theace, the Honourable Company hath beene humble suiters to his Maiestie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay, so the businesse hath beene so abused, that so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did haue to be hanged ere

they would goe thither, and were: Yet for all the worst of spight, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now suiters to goe, then euer hath beene constrained knaues. And it is not vnknowne to most men of vnderstanding, how happy many of those Collumners hath thought themselues that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their passage to goe now to *Virginia*, and I feare mee there goeth too many of those, that hath shifted heere till they could no longer; and they will vse that qualitie there till they hazard all.

To range this Countrey of *New-England* in like manner, I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruit conditions, I met many of their silly encounters, and I giue God thankes, without any hurt at all to me, or any with mee. When your West-Countrey men were so wounded and tormented with the Saluages, though they had all the Politicke directions that had beene gathered from all the secret informations could be heard of, yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I speak not this out of vaine-glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some who were neuer there may censure me: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Saluages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrey-men: but to the purpose;

The *Paragon* with thirtie seuen men sent to releeue them, miscaried twice vpon our English Coast, whereby they failed of their supplies. It is true, there hath beene taken one thousand Bases at a draught; and in one night twelue Hogsheads of Herrings: but when they wanted all necessaries both for fishing and sustinance, but what they could get with their naked industry, they indured most extreme wants, hauing beene now neere two yeeres without any supply to any purpose, it is a wonder how they should subsist, much lesse so to resist the Saluages, fortifie themselues, plant sixtie acres of Corne, besides their Gardens that were well replenished with many vsuall fruits. But in the beginning of Iuly came in two ships of Master *Westons*, though we much wanted our selues, yet we releeued them what we could: and to requite vs, they destroied our Corne and Fruits then planted, and did what they could to haue done the like to vs. At last they were transported to *Wichaguscusset* at the *Massachusets*, where they abused the Saluages worse then vs. We hauing neither Trade, nor scarce any thing remaining, God

sent in one Master *Iones*, and a ship of *Westons* had beene at *Monahigan* amongst the Fisher-men, that for Beuer skinnes and such Merchandize as wee had, very well refreshed vs, though at deere rates. *Weston* left also his men a small Barke, and much good prouision, and so set saile for *England*. Then wee ioyned with them to trade to the Southward of Cape *Cod*, twice or thrice wee were forced to returne; first by the death of their Gouernor; then the sicknesse of Captaine *Standish*. At last our Gouernor Master *Bradford* vndertooke it himselfe to haue found the passage betwixt the Shoules and the Maine, then *Tusquantum* our Pilot died, so that we returned to the *Massachusets*, where we found the trade spoiled, and nothing but complaints betwixt the Saluages and the English. At *Nawset*, we were kindly vsed and had good trade, though we lost our Barge, the Saluages carefully kept both her wracke, and some ten Hogsheads of Corne three moneths, and so we returned some by land, some in the ship.

Captaine *Standish* being recouered, went to fetch them both, and traded at *Namasket* and *Monomete*, where the people had the plague, a place much frequented with *Dutch* and *French*. Here the *Sachem* put a man to death for killing his fellow at play, wherein they are so violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and also their wiues, though many miles from them. But our prouision decaying, *Standish* is sent to *Mattachist*, where they pretended their wonted loue; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Escaping thence, wee went to *Monomete*, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Heare one *Wittuwamat* a notable villaine, would boast how many French and English hee had slaine: This Champion presenting a Dagger to the *Sachem Canacum* he had got from the English, occasioned vs to vnderstand how they had contriued to murder all the English in the Land, but hauing such a faire opportunitie, they would begin heere with vs. Their scornfull vsage made the Captaine so passionate to appease his anger and choler, their intent made many faire excuses for satisfaction: *Scar* a lusty Saluage, alwaies seeming the most to effect vs, bestowed on vs the best presents he had without any recompence, saying; Hee was rich enough to bestow such fauours on his friends, yet had vndertaken to kill the Captaine himselfe, but our vigilencies so preuented the aduantage they expected,

we safely returned, little suspecting in him any such treachery.

During this time a *Dutch* ship was driuen a shore at *Massasowat*, whose King lay very sicke, now because it is a generall custome then for all their friends to visit them: Master *Winslow*, and Master *Hamden*, with *Habamok* for their guide, were sent with such Cordialls as they had to salute him; by the way they so oft heard the King was dead, *Habamok* would breake forth in those words, My louing *Sachem*, my louing *Sachem*, many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee, nor shall euer see the like amongst the Saluages: for he was no lier, nor bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*, in anger soone reclaimed, he would be ruled by reason not scorning the aduice of meane men, and gouerned his men better with a few strokes, then others with many: truly louing where he loued, yea he feared wee had not a faithfull friend left amongst all his Countrey-men, shewing how oft he had restrained their malice; much more with much passion he spoke to this purpose, till at last we arriued where we found the *Dutchmen* but newly gone, and the house so full we could hardly get in. By their charmes they distempered vs that were well, much more him that was sicke, women rubbing him to keepe heat in him; but their charmes ended, vnderstanding of vs, though he had lost his sight, his vnderstanding failed not; but taking *Winslow* by the hand, said. Art thou *Winslow*, Oh *Winslow*, I shall neuer see thee againe! *Hobamock* telling him what restauratiues they had brought, he desired to taste them, with much adoe they got a little Confexion of many comfortable Conserues into his mouth, as it desolued he swallowed it, then desoluing more of it in water, they scraped his tongue, which was al furred and swolne, and washed his mouth, and then gaue him more of it to eat, and in his drinke, that wrought such an alteration in him in two or three houres, his eies opened to our great contents: with this and such broths as they there prouided for him, it pleased God he recouered: and thus the manner of his sickenesse and cure caused no small admiration amongst them.

During the time of their stay to see his recouery, they had sent to *New Plimoth* for diuers good things for him, which he tooke so kindly, that he fully reuealed all the former conspiracies against vs to which he had often beene moued;

and how that all the people of *Powmet*, *Nawset*, *Succonet*, *Muttachist*, *Manamet*, *Augawam*, and *Capawac*, were ioyned to murder vs: therefore as we respected our liues, kill them of *Massachuset* that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot will cease, thus taking our leaues, and arriuing at our fort, we found our braue liberall friend of *Pamet* drawing *Standish* to their Ambuscados, which being thus discouered, we sent him away, as though he knew nor suspected any thing. Them at the *Massachusets*, some were so vilde they serued the Saluages for victuall, the rest sent vs word the Saluages were so insolent, they would assault them though against their Commission, so fearefull they were to breake their Commission, so much time was spent in consultations, they all were famished, till *Wassapinewat* againe came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

Then they appointed *Standish* with eight chosen men, vnder colour of Trade to catch them in their owne trap at *Massachuset*, and acquaint it with the English in the Towne, where arriuing he found none in the Barke; and most of the rest without Armes, or scarce clothes, wandering abroad, all so sencelesly secure, he more then wondered they were not all slaine. with much adoe he got the most of them to their Towne. The Saluages suspecting their plots discouered, *Pecksnot* a great man, and of as great a spirit, came to *Habumak*, who was then amongst them, saying; Tell *Standish* we know he is come to kill vs, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the Fort and whet their Kniues before him, with many brauing speeches. One amongst the rest was by *Wittawamat* bragging he had a Knife, that on the handle had the picture of a womans face, but at home I haue one hath killed both French and English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marrie: but this here, by and by shall see, and by and by eat, but not speake; Also *Pecksnot* being of a greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine he was but a little man, and I though no *Sachem*, yet I am of great strength and courage. These things *Standish* bare patiently for the present; but the next day seeing he could not get many of them together, but these two Roarers and two more being in a conuenient roome, and his company about him, *Standish* seased on *Pecksnots* Knife then hanging about

his necke, wherewith he slew him, and the rest slew *Wituwamat* and the other Saluage, but the youth they tooke, who being Brother to *Wituwamat*, and as vilanous as himselfe, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they indured, catching at their weapons without any feare or bruit, till the last gasp. *Habamack* stood by all this time very silent, but all ended, he said, Yesterday *Pecksnot* bragged of his strength and stature, but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.

The Towne he left to the guard of *Westons* people: three Saluages more were slaine; vpon which rumour they all fled from their houses. The next day they met with a file of Saluages that let fly their Arrowes, shot for shot till *Habamack* shewed himselfe, and then they fled. For all this, a Saluage Boy to shew his innocency, came boldly vnto vs and told vs: Had the English Fugitiues but finished the three Canowes they were a making, to haue taken the ship, they would haue done as much to all the English, which was the onely cause they had forborne so long. But now consulting and considering their estates, those that went in the Pinnace to *Barty* Iles to get passage for *England*, the rest to *New Plimoth*, where they were kindly entertained. The *Sachem Obtakeest*, and *Powas*, and diuers other were guilty, the three fugitiues in their fury there slew; but not long after so distracted were those poore scattered people, they left their habitations, liuing in swamps, where with cold and infinite diseases they endured much mortalitie, suing for peace, and crying the God of *England* is angry with them. Thus you see where God pleases, as some flourish, others perish.

[1623] Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middest of Aprill, in a faire season they began to plant till the latter end of May; but so God pleased, that in six weekes after the latter setting there scarce fell any raine: so that the stalke was first set, began to eare ere it came to halfe growth, and the last not like to yeeld any thing at all. Our Beanes also seemed so withered, we iudged all vtterly dead, that now all our hopes were ouerthrowne, and our ioy turned into mourning. And more to our sorrow, we heard of the twice returne of the *Paragon* that now the third time was sent vs three moneths agoe, but no newes of her: onely the signes of a wracke we saw on the Coast which wee iudged her. This caused not euery of vs to enter into a

priuate consideration betwixt God and our consciences, but most solemnly to humble ourselues before the Lord by fasting and praying, to releeue our dejected spirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when wee assembled all together, the skies were as cleere, and the drought as like to continue as euer; yet our exercise continued eight or nine houres. Before our departure, the skies were all ouer-cast, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, moderate showers, continuing fourteene daies, mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered Corne, or drooping affections were most quickned and reuiued; such was the bounty and mercy of God. Of this the *Indians* by the meanes of *Hobamock* tooke notice, who seeing vs vse this exercise in the midst of the weeke said: It was but three daies since Sunday, and desired to know the reason: which when hee vnderstood, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of God towards vs, shewing the difference betwixt their coniurations and our praiers, and what stormes and dangers they oft receiue thereby. To expresse our thankfulnesse, wee assembled together another day as before, and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ships to supply vs, and all their Passengers well except one, and he presently recouered. For vs, notwithstanding all these wants, there was not a sicke person amongst vs. The greater ship we returned fraught; the other wee sent to the Southward, to trade vnder the command of Captaine *Altom*. So that God be thanked, we desire nothing, but what we will returne Commodities to the value.

Thus all men finde our great God he,
That neuer wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that onely he
Of euery thing is Author.

For this yeere from *England* is gone about fortie saile of ships, only to fish, and as I am informed, haue made a farre better voyage then euer.

Now some new great obseruers will haue this an Iland, because I haue writ it is the Continent: others report, that the people are so bruit, they haue no religion, wherein surely they are deceiued; for my part, I neuer heard of any Nation in the world which had not a Religion, deare, bowes and arrowes. They beleeue as doe the *Virginians*, of many

diuine powers, yet of one aboue all the rest, as the Southerne *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassu*, and that wee now inhabit *Oke*, but both their Kings *Werowance*. The *Massachusets* call their great God *Kiehtan*, and their Kings there abouts *Sachems*. The *Penobscotes* their greatest power *Tantum*, and their Kings *Sagomos*. Those where is this Plantation, say *Kiehtan* made all the other Gods: also one man and one woman, and of them all mankinde, but how they became so dispersed they know not. They say, at first there was no King but *Kiehtan* that dwelleth farre westerly aboue the heauens, whither all good men goe when they die, and haue plentie of all things. The bad men goe thither also and knocke at the doore, but he bids them goe wander in endlesse want and miserie, for they shall not stay there. They neuer saw *Kiehtan*, but they hold it a great charge and dutie, that one age teach another; and to him they make feasts, and cry and sing for plentie and victorie, or any thing is good. They haue another Power they call *Hobamock*, which wee conceiue the Deuill, and vpon him they call to cure their wounds and diseases: when they are curable he perswades them, he sent them because they haue displeased him: but if they be mortall, then he saith, *Kiehtan* sent them, which makes them neuer call on him in their sicknesse.— They say this *Hobamock* appeares to them sometimes like a Man, a Deere, or an Eagle, but most commonly like a Snake; not to all, but only to their *Powahs* to cure diseases, and *Vnlesses*, which is one of the chiefe next the King, and so bold in the warres, that they thinke no weapon can kill them: and those are such as coniure in *Virginia*, and cause the people to doe what they list.

For their Gouernment: euery *Sachem* is not a King, but their great *Sachems* haue diuers *Sachems* under their protection, paying them tribute, and dare make no warres without his knowledge: but euery *Sachem* taketh care for the Widowes, Orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to first wife, but them in birth equall to themselues, although they haue many inferior Wiues and Concubins that attend on the principall: from whom he neuer parteth, but any of the rest when they list: they inherit by succession, and euery one knowes their owne bounds. To his men, hee giueth them land, also bounded, and what Deere they kill in that circuit, he hath the fore-part; but if in the

water, onely the skin: But they account none a man till hee hath done notable exploit: the men are most imploied in hunting, the women in slauery; the younger obey the elders: their names are variable; they haue harlots and honest women: the harlots neuer marrie, or else are widowes. They vse diuorcement, and the King commonly punisheth all offenders himselfe: when a maid is maried, she cutteth her haire, and keepes her head couered till it be growne againe. Their arts, games, musicke, attire, burials, and such like, differ very little from the *Virginians*, onely for their Chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others set vp great stone. Out of the Relations of Master *Edward Winslow*.

Now I know the common question is, For all those miseries where is the wealth they haue got, or the Gold or Siluer Mines? To such greedy vnworthy minds I say once againe: The Sea is better then the richest Mine knowne, and of all the fishing ships that went well prouided, there is no complaint of losse nor misery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land were it neuer so good, in two yeeres so few of such small experience liuing without supplies so well, and in health, it was an extraordinary blessing from God. But that with such small meanes they should subsist, and doe so much, to any vnderstanding iudgement is a wonder. Notwithstanding, the vaine expectation of present gaine in some, ambition in others, that to be great would haue all else slaues, and the carelessnesse in prouiding supplies, hath caused those defailements in all those Plantations, and how euer some bad conditions will extoll the actions of any Nation but their owne: yet if we may giue credit to the *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *French* writings, they endured as many miseries, and yet not in twenty yeeres effected so much, nay scarce in fortie.

Thus you may see plainly the yeerely successe from *New-England* by *Virginia*, which hath beene so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see perish, or but bleed: Pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to haue beene sufficiently able to fore-see their miseries, and had neither power nor meanes to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I call them my children, for they haue beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my best content, as

indifferent to my heart, as my left hand to my right. And notwithstanding, all those miracles of disasters haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not an Englishman remaining, as God be thanked notwithstanding the massacre there are some thousands; I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at first, not that I haue any secret encouragement (I protest) more then lamentable experience: for all their discoueries I haue yet heard of, are but Pigs of my owne Sow, nor more strange to me, then to heare one tell me hee hath gone from *Billingsgate* and discouered *Gravesend*, *Tilbary*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, and *Margit*, which to those did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might bee made some rare secrets and great Countries vnknowne, except some few relations of Master *Dirmer*.— In *England*, some are held great trauellers that haue seene *Venice*, and *Rome*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Sinill*, *Algere*, *Prague*, or *Ragonsa*, *Constantinople*, or *Ierusalem*, and the Pirramides of *Egypt*; that thinke it nothing to goe to *Summer Iles*, or *Virginia*, which is as far as any of them; and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney: as for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to goe thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by Relation, if it be not right I humbly intreat your pardons, but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue beene actors, or sharers in those voyages; In some particulars they might deceiue mee, but in the substance they could not: for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those haue liued there, doe confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of Plantation, will moue both Citie and Country, freely to aduenture with me more then promises.

But because some Fortune-tellers say, I am vnfortunate: had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad an account of their actions, and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those obiecters, that thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rest so long

without imploiment, nor haue no more reward nor preferment: To which I say;

I thinke it more strange they should tax me, before they haue tried as much as I haue, both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my Commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed bee importunate, or could I euer learne to beg: What there I got, I haue spent; yet in *Virginia* I staied, till I left fiue hundred behinde me better prouided then euer I was, from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Summer Iles*.

This Virgins Sister, now called *New England*, at my humble sute, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*, hath beene neere as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I neuer got shilling but it cost mee a pound, yet I would thinke my selfe happy could I see their prosperities.

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke when nothing was knowne but that there was a vast land? I neuer had power and meanes to doe any thing, though more hath beene spent in formall delaies then would haue done the businesse, but in such a penurious and miserable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men beene as forward to aduenture their purses, and performe the conditions they promised mee, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thousands ere this had beene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of desire and the bridle of reason, I am neere ridden to death in a ring of despaire: the reines are in your hands, therefore I intreat you ease me, and those that thinke I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough not to be so forward againe at euery motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carie newes: for now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas, which makes me remember and say with Master *Hackluit;* Oh incredulitie the wit of fooles, that slouingly doe spit at all things faire, a sluggards Cradle, a Cowards Castle, how easie it is to be an Infidell. But to the matter: By this all men may perceiue, the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plentie of fish is most certainly approued: and it is certaine, from *Cannada* and

New England, within these six yeeres hath come neere twenty thousand Beuer skinnes: Now had each of these ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants, and Seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue beene sufficient for more then one thousand men: But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that it is hard to effect any publike good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both honesty, as well as authoritie and money, assist experience. But your home-bred ingrossing Proiecters will at last finde, there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing, or those that thinks their directions can be as soone and easily performed, as they can conceit them: or that their conceits are the fittest things to bee put in practice, or their countenances maintaine Plantations. But to conclude, the fishing will goe forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a Colony may be then transported with no great charge, that in short time might proaide such fraughts, to buy ou vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ship should goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Knives, Irish-rugges, course cloth, Beads, Glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our owne necessarie prouisions, whose endeuours would quickly defray all this charge, and the Saluages did intreat me to inhabit where I would. Now all those ships till these last two yeeres, haue beene fishing within a square of two or three leagues, and scarce any one yet will goe any further in the Port they fish in, where questionlesse fiue hundred may haue their fraught as well as elsewhere; and be in the market ere others can haue the fish in their ships, because *New England*'s fishing begins in February, in *Newfoundland* not till the midst of May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and *Summer Ilas*, whose empty ships may take in their fraughts there, and would be also in time of need a good friend to the Inhabitants of *Newfoundland*.

The returnes made by the Westerne men, are commonly diuided in three parts; one for the owner of the ship; another for the Master and his Company: the third for the victuaters, which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to

the Plantation as yet goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yeerely for little or nothing, which otherwise wil cost many hundreds of pounds. If a ship can gaine twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred: nay three hundred for one hundred in seuen or ten moneths, as you see they haue done, spending twice so much time in comming and going as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the variety of the fishings serue the most part of the yeere, and with a little labour we might make all the Salt we need vse, as is formerly said, and can conceiue no reason to distrust of good successe by Gods assistance; besides for the building of ships, no place hath more conuenient Harbours, ebbe, nor flood, nor better timber: and no Commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Master Dee *his opinion for the building of ships.*

Master *Dee* recordeth in his Brittish Monarchy, that King *Edgar* had a Nauy of foure thousand saile, with which he yeerely made his progresse, about this famous Monarchy of *Great Britaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon hee proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting a fleet of sixty Saile, he called a little Nauy Royall imitating that admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea. At this none need wonder, for who knowes not her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men, notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*; yet all the world by Sea and Land both feared or loued, and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*. Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successor, our most Royall Lord and Souereigne King *Iames*, this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his Kingdomes consideration: that if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea. The Kings high waies are

common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing: So *Englands* Coasts are free to passe but not to fish, but by his Maiesties Prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order, for the East and West Indies but by his permission, or at their perils: if all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne shores as strangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintaine this little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiesty a penny, and yet maintaine peace with all Forrainers, and allow them more courtesie then any Nation in the world affords to *England*. It were a shame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishing as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed Cloth, notwithstanding all their warres and troublesome disorders.

To get money to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the one hundreth penny of his rents, and the fiue hundreth penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh forty shillings wages, foure pence; and euery forrainer of seuen yeeres of age foure pence, for seuen yeeres; not any of these but they will spend three times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie: And doe any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not bee humble suters to his Maiesty to doe this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but the one halfe of this (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, tax, lottery, or imposition: so it may be as honestly and truly imploied, as it is proiected, the poorest Mechanicke in this Kingdome would gaine by it. Then you might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can doe here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne Land, to the aduancement of Gods glory, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthning and releefe of a great part of Christendome without hurt to any, to the terror of Pirats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any Nations in the

world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet vnborne to blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise.

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath beene to priuat ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouer-weening incredulity, that strangers may possesse it whilest we contend for *New-Englands* goods, but not for *Englands* good: I haue presented it as I haue said, to the Prince and Nobility, the Gentry and Commonalty, hoping at last it will mouc the whole land to know it and consider of it: since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the foresaid aduantages: were this Country planted, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauy Royall, both with honour, profit and content, and inhabit as good a Country as any in the world within that paralell, which with my life and what I haue, I will endeuour to effect, if God please and you permit. But no man will goe from hence to haue lesse freedome there then here, nor aduenture all they haue to prepare the way for them will scarce thanke them for it; and it is too well knowne there haue beene so many vndertakers of Patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performance: in the *Interim*, you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in *Virginia*, or any of his Maiesties subiects should not haue as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Cherley* and a few priuate aduenturers with them, what haue we there for all these inducements? As for them whom pride or couetousnesse lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slothfull carelesnesse, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue beene brought to confusion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of *Constantinople*, and how many Cities, Townes and Prouinces, in the faire rich Kingdomes of *Hungarie*, *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues and honours, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place, their wiues, children and seruants slaine, or wandring they knew not whether, dying or liuing in all extremities of extreme miseries and calamities, surely they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and liberty at home, or but aduenture their persons

abroad; to preuent the conclusions of a conquering Foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty, most armed with ignorance and security.

Though the true condition of warre is onely to suppresse the proud and defend the innocent, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus*, Prince of those Countries, against them whom vnder the colour of iustice and piety, to maintaine their superfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them or keepe them from ability to doe any thing, that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, couetousnesse, falshood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all manner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesss.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.*

Here follow certaine notes and obseruations of Captaine *Charles Whitbourne* concerning *New-found land*, which although euery master trained vp in fishing, can make their proportions of necessaries according to their custome, yet it is not much amisse here to insert them, that euery one which desires the good of those actions know them also. Besides in his Booke intituled, *A discouery of New-found land, and the commodities thereof*, you shall finde many excellent good aduertisements for a Plantation; and how that most yeeres this Coast hath beene frequented with 250. saile of his Maiesties subiects, which supposing but 60. tunnes a peece, one with another, they amout to 15000. tunnes, and allowing 25. men and boies to euery Barke, they will make 5000. persons, whose labours returne yeerely to about 135000. pound sterling, besides the great numbers of Brewers, Bakers, Coupers, Ship-Carpenters, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Hooke-makers, and the most of all other mecanicall trades in *England*.

The charge of setting forth a ship of 100. tuns with 40. persons, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the Plantation.

	£	s.	d.
INPRIMIS, 10000. weight of Bisket at 15. *s.* a 100. weight.	82	10	
26 Tun of Beere and Sider at 53*s.* 4*d.* a Tun.	69	7	
2 Hogsheads of English Beefe.	10		
2 Hogsheads of Irish Beefe.	5		
10 Fat Hogs salted with Salt and Caske.	10	10	
30 Bushels of Pease.	6		
2 Ferkins of Butter.	3		
200 Waight of Cheese.	2	10	
1 Bushell of Mustard-seed.		6	
1 Hogshead of Vinegar.	1	5	
Wood to dresse meat withall.	1		
1 Great Copper Kettle.	2		
2 Small Kettles.	2		
2 Frying-Pans.		3	4
Platters, Ladles and Cans.	1		
A paire of Bellowes for the Cooke.		2	6
Taps, Boriers and Funnels.		2	
Locks for the Bread roomes.		2	6
100 weight of Candles.	2	10	
130 quarters of Salt at 2*s.* the Bushell.	10	4	
Mats and dinnage to lie vnder it.	2	10	
Salt Shouels.		10	
Particulars for the 40. persons to keepe 8. fishing boats at Sea, with 3. men in euery boat, imploies 24. and 500. foot of Elme boords of an inch thicke, 8*s.* each one.	2		
2000 Nailes for the 8. Boats, at 18*s.* 4*d.* a 1000.	1	6	8
4000 Nailes at 6*s.* 8*d.* 1000.	1	6	8
3000 Nailes at 5*d.* 100.		3	
500 weight of pitch at 8*s.* 100.	2		
2000 of good orlop nailes.	2	5	
More for other small necessaries.	3		
A barrell of Tar.		10	
200 weight of black Ocome.	1		
Terums for pitch Maps.		1	6

	£	s.	d.
Bolls, Buckets and Pumps,	1		
2 brazen Crocks.	2		
Cannas to make Boat sailes and small ropes, at 25*s.* for each saile.	12	10	
10 rode Ropes which containe 600. weight at 30*s.* the 100.	10		
12 dozen of fishing lines.	6		
24 dozen of fishing hookes.	2		
For Squid line.		3	
For Pots and liuer maunds.		18	
Iron works for the boats ruthers.	2		
10 Kipnet Irons.		10	
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks.		6	
10 good Nets at 26*s.* a net.	13		
2 Saynes, a great and a lesse.	12		
200 weight of Sow-lead.	1		
2 couple of ropes for the Saynes.	1		
Dry-fats to keepe them in.		6	
Twine for store.		5	
Flaskets and bread Baskets.		15	
For haire cloth.	10		
3 Tuns of vinegar caske for water.	1	6	8
1 douzen of Deale Bourds.		10	
2 Barrels of Oatmeale.	1	6	
100 weight of Spikes.	2	5	
2 good Axes, 4. hand Hatchets, 4. Drawers, 2. drawing Irons.		16	
3 yards of wollen cloth for cuffs.		10	
8 yards of good Cannasse.		10	
A grind-stone or two.		6	
2000 of poore Iohn to spend in going.	6	10	
1 Hogshead of Aquauitæ.	4		
4 arme Sawes, 4. Handsawes, 4. thwart Sawes, 3. Augers, 2. Crowes of Iron, 3. Sledges. 4. shod Shouels, 2. Pickaxes, 4. Matocks, and 4. Hammers.	5		
The totall summe is	£420	11	6

All these prouisions the Master or Purser is to be accountable what is spent and what is left, with those which shall continue there to plant, and of the 40. thus prouided for the voyage, ten, may well be spared to leaue behind them, with 500. weight of Bisket, 5. hogsheads of Sider or beere, halfe a hogshead of Beefe, 4. sides of dry Bakon, 4. bushell of Pease, halfe a ferkin of Butter, halfe 100. weight of Cheese, a pecke of Mustard-seed, a barrell of Vinegar, 12. pound of Candles, 2. pecks of Oatmeale, halfe a hogshead of Aquauitæ, 2. copper Kettles, 1 brasse Crock, 1. Fryingpan, a Grindstone; and all the Hatchets, Woodhooks, Sawes, Augers, &c. and all other iron tooles, with the 8. Boats and their imploiments, and spare salt, and what else they vse not in a readinesse from yeere to yeere, and in the meane time serued them to helpe to build their houses, cleanse land, and further their fishing whilst the ships are wanting.

By his estimation and calculation these 8. Boats with 22. men in a Summer doe vsually kill 25000. fish for euery Boat, which may amount to 200000. allowing 120. fishes to the 100. sometimes they haue taken aboue 35000. for a Boat, so that they load not onely their owne ship, but prouide great quantities for sacks, or other spare ships which come thither onely to buy the ouerplus: if such ships come not, they giue ouer taking any more, when sometimes there hath beene great abundance, because there is no fit houses to lay them in till another yeere, now most of those sacks goeth empty thither, which might as well transport mens prouision and cattle at an easie rate as nothing, either to *New-England* or *New-found land*, but either to transport them for nothing or pay any great matter for their liberty to fish, will hardly effect so much as freedome as yet; not can this put in practice as before I said, till there be a power there well planted and setled to entertaine and defend them, assist and releeue them as occasion shall require, otherwaies those small diuisions will effect little, but such miserable conclusions as both the French and wee too long haue tried to our costs. Now commonly 200000. fish will load a ship of 100. tunnes in *New-found land*, but halfe so many will neere doe it in *New-England*, which carried to *Tolouse* or *Marseilus*, where the custome is small, and the Kintall lesse then 90. English pounds weight, and the prise when least, 12. shillings the Kintall, which at that rate amounts to £ 1320. starling; and the ship

may either there be discharged or imployed as hath beene said to refraught for *England*, so that the next yeere she may be ready to goe her fishing voyage againe, at a farre cheaper rate then before.

To this adde but 12. tuns of traine oile, which deliuered in *New-found land*, is £ 10. the tun, makes £ 120. then it is hard if there be not 10000. of Cor-fish, which also sold there at £ 5. the 1000. makes £ 50. which breught to *England*, in somes places yeeld neere halfe so much more; but if at *Merselus* it be sold for 16*s*. the Kentall, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to £ 1760. and if the Boats follow the fishing till the 15. of October, they may take 80000. more, which with their traine in *New-found land* at £ 4. the 1000. will amount to £ 320. which added to £ 1320. with £ 120. for Oile, and 10000. of Cor-fish £ 50. and the ouerplus at *Merselus*, which will be £ 440. make the totall £ 2250. which diuided in three parts according to their custome, the Victualer hath for the former particulars, amounting to £ 420. £ 751. so all the charge defraied, hee gaines £ 331. 11*s*. then for the fraught of the ship there is £ 751. and so much for the Master and his company, which comparing with the voiages hath beene made to *New- England*, you may easily finde which is the better though both bee good. But now experience hath taught them at *New-Plimoth*, that in Aprill there is a fish much like a Herring that comes vp into the small Brookes to spawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will presse vp through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible, which they take with that facility they manure their land with them when they haue occasion: after those the Cod also presseth in such plenty, euen into the very Harbours, they haue caught some in their armes, and hooke them so fast, three men oft loadeth a Boat of two tuns in two houres, where before they vsed most to fish in deepe water.

The present estate of New-Plimoth.

At *New-Plimoth* there is about 180 persons, some cattell and goats, but many swine and poultry, 32 dwelling houses, whereof 7 were burnt the last winter, and the value of fiue hundred pounds in other goods: the Towne is impailed about helfe a mile compasse. In the towne vpon a high Mount they haue a Fort well built with wood, lome, and stone, where is planted their Ordnance: Also a faire Watch tower, partly framed for the Sentinell, the place it seemes is healthfull, for in these last three yeeres, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters, they haue made a saltworke, and with that salt preserue the fish they take, and this yeere hath fraughted a ship of 180. tunnes. The Gouernour is one Mr. *William Bradford*, their Captaine *Miles Standish*, a bred Souldier in *Holland*; the chiefe men for their assistance is Master *Isaak Aldenton*, and diuers others as occasion seruetb; their Preachers are Master *William Bruster* and Master *John Lauford*.

The most of them liue together as one family or houshold, yet euery man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a generall stocke, out of which they haue all their maintenance, vntill there be a diuident betwixt the Planters and the Aduenturers. Those Planters are not seruants to the Aduenturers here, but haue onely councells of directions from them, but no iniunctions or command, and all the masters of families are partners in land or whatsoeuer, setting their labours against the stocke, till certaine yeeres be expired for the diuision: they haue young men and boies for their Apprentises and seruants, and some of them speciall families, as Ship-carpenters, Salt-makers, Fish-masters, yet as seruants vpon great wages. The Aduenturers which raised the stocke to begin and supply this Plantation were about 70. some Gentlemen, some Merchants, some handy-crafts men, some aduenturing great summes, some small, as their estates and affection serued. The generall stocke already imploied is about £7000. by reason of which charge and many crosses, many of them would aduenture no more, but others that knowes, so great a designe cannot bee effected without both charge, losse and crosses, are resolued to goe forward with it to their powers: which

deserue no small commendations and encouragement. These dwell most about *London*, they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to doe good and to plant Religion: they haue a President and Treasurer, euery yeere newly chosen by the most voices, who ordereth the affaires of their Courts and meetings, and with the assent of the most of them, vndertaketh all ordinary businesses, but in more weighty affaires, the assent of the whole Company is required. There hath beene a fishing this yeere vpon the Coast about 50. English ships: and by Cape *Anne*, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of *New-Plimoth*, who also by them haue set vp a fishing worke; some talke there is some other pretended Plantations, all whose good proceedings the eternal God protect and preserue. And these haue beene the true proceedings and accidents in those Plantations.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the Courts belonging vnto them, of the anihilating old Patents and procuring new; with the charge, paines and arguments, the reasons of such changes, all the treaties, consultations, orations, and dissentions about the sharing and diuiding those large territories, confirming of Counsailers, electing all sorts of Officers, directions, Letters of aduice, and their answers, disputations about the Magazines and Impositions, suters for Patents, positions for Freedomes, and confirmations with complaints of iniuries here, and also the mutinies, examinations, arraignements, executions, and the cause of the so oft reuolt of the Saluages at large, as many would haue had, and it may be some doe expect it would make more quarrels then any of them would willingly answer, and such a volume as would tire any wise man but to read the contents; for my owne part I rather feare the vnpartiall Reader wil thinke this rather more tedious then necessary: but he that would be a practitioner in those affaires, I hope will allow them not only needfull but expedient: but how euer, if you please to beare with those errors I haue committed, if God please I liue, my care and paines shall endeuour to be thankfull: if I die, accept my good will: If any desire to be further satisfied, what defect is found in this, they shall finde supplied in me, that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries

good, not doubting but God will stirre vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the Spaniards any such certainties for his desigue, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him forth with 15. saile, and though I promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let vs imitate but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasury gotten by fishing; and *New-England* hath yeelded already by generall computation one hundred thousand pounds at the least. Therefore honourable and worthy Country men, let not the meannesse of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of *Guiana* or *Potassie*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility. I. S.

FINIS

THE

CONTINUATION

OF THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

OF

Virginia; the Summer Iles; and New-England;

WITH THEIR PRESENT ESTATE FROM 1624. TO THIS PRESENT 1629.

The following Chapters, to the end of the Volume, were annexed to the *True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith*, prefixed to a copy of the History which the publisher was so fortunate as to find. As a number of particulars mentioned in them refer to the history, it was thought advisable to transpose them from the beginning of the first volume to the end of the last; that the reader might have the history in chronological order. And this is the only change which the publisher has ventured to make.]

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING these Countreyes, I would be sorrie to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Maps, Commodities, People, Government and Religion yet knowen, the beginning of those plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the Adventurers, the yeerely proceedings of euerie Governour both here and there. As for the misprisions, neglect, grievances, and the causes of all those rumours, losses and crosses that have happened; I referre you to the Generall Historie, where you shall find all this at large; especially to those pages, where you may read my letter of advice to the Councell and Company, what of necessitie must be done, or lose all and leave the Countrey, pag. 79. what commodities I sent home, pag. 153. my opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, pag. 150. my account to them here of my actions there, pag. 163. my seven answers to his Magesties Commissioners: seven questions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedie,

pag. 165. How those noble Gentlemen spent neere two yeares in perusing all letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their complaints; especially about the Sallerie, which should haue beene a new office in *London*, for the well ordering the sale of *Tobacco*, that 2500. pounds should yearely have beene raised out of it, to pay foure or five hundred pounds yearly to the Governor of that Companie; two or three hundred to his Deputie; the rest into stipends of thirtie or fiftie pounds yearely for their Clerks and under Officers which were never there, pag. 153. but not one hundred pounds for all them in *Virginia*, nor any thing for the most part of the Adventurers in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of ships, Adventurers of commodities, also their Factors and many other Officers, there imployed only by friendship to raise their fortunes out of the labours of the true industrious planters by the title of their office, who under the colour of sinceritie, did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly: For more than 150000. pounds have beene spent out of the common stocke, besides many thousands have beene there consumed, and neere 7000. people that there died, only for want of good order and government, otherwise long ere this there would have beene more than 20000. people, where after twentie yeeeres spent onely in complement, and trying new conclusions, was remaining scarce 1500. with some few cattell.

Then the Company dissolved, but no account of any thing; so that his Maiestie appointed Commissioners to oversee and give order for their proceedings. Being thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these foure yeeres, you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation; but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate vnto you: For although I haue tired my selfe in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more then would a voyage to *Virginia*: few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited, and he is a great traveller that hath gone up and downe the river of *Iames* Towne, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smiths* Iles, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part they keepe one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants, having beene there, some sixteene yeeres, some twelve, some six, some neere twentie, &c. But

of their generall estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know verie little to any purpose.

Now the most I could understand in generall, was from the relation of Mr. *Nathaniel Cawsey*, that lived there with mee, and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627. and some others affirme, Sir *George Yerley* was Governour, Captaine *Francis West*, Doctor *John Pott*, Captaine *Roger Smith*, Captaine *Matthewes*, Captaine *Tucker*, Mr. *Clabourne*, and Mr. *Farrer* of the Councell: their habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Councell, are for most part at *Iames* Towne, the rest repaire thither as there is occasion; but everie three moneths they have a generall meeting, to consider of their publike affaires.

Their numbers then were about 1500. some say rather 2000. divided into seventeene or eighteene severall Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages; and amongst those Plantations above *Iames* Towne, they have now found meanes to take plentie of fish, as well with lines, as nets, and where the waters are the largest, having meanes, they need not want.

Upon this River they seldome see any Salvages, but in the woods, many times their fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few stragglers, which have beene revenged with the death of so many of themselves; but no other attempt hath beene made upon them this two or three yeares.

Their Cattle, namely Oxen, Kine, Buls, they imagine to be about 2000. Goats great store and great increase; the wilde Hogs, which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the Salvages: but no family is so poore, that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultrie, he is a verie bad husband breedeth not an hundred in a yeere, and the richer sort doth daily feed on them.

For bread they have plentie, and so good, that those that make it well, better cannot be: divers have much English corne, especially Mr. *Abraham Perce*, which prepared this yeere to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley, feeding daily about the number of sixtie persons at his owne charges.

For drinke, some malt the Indian corne, others barley, of which they make good Ale, both strong and small, and such

plentie thereof, few of the upper Planters drinke any water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and good English Beere.

Their servants commonly feed upon Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian corne pounded, and boiled thicke, and milke for the sauce: but boiled with milke, the best of all will oft feed on it, and leave their flesh; with milke, butter and cheese; with fish, Bulls flesh, for they seldome kill any other, &c. And everie one is so applyed to his labour about Tobacco and Corne, which doth yeeld them such profit, they never regard any food from the Salvages, nor have they any trade or conference with them, but upon meere accidents and defiances: and now the Merchants have left it: there have gone so many voluntarie ships within this two yeeres, as have furnished them with Apparell, Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and all necessaries, much better than ever before.

For Armes, there is scarce any man but he is furnished with a Peece, a Iack, a Coat of Maile, a Sword, or Rapier; and everie Holy-day, everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes, by which meanes; hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent markmen.

For Discoveries they have made none, nor any other commoditie than Tobacco doe they apply themselves unto, though never any was planted at first. And whereas the Countrey was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many, now they have houses, lodgings and victuall, and the Sunne hath power to exhale up the moyst vapours of the earth, where they have cut downe the wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high trees; they finde it much more healthfull than before: nor for their numbers, few Countreyes are lesse troubled with death, sicknesse, or any other disease, nor where overgrowne women become more fruitfull.

Since this, Sir *George Yerley* died 1628. Captaine *West* succeeded him; but about a yeere after returned for *England*: Now Doctor *Pott* is Governour, and the rest of the Councell as before: *Iames* Towne is yet their chiefe seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corne there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England* in abundance, and as good grasse as can be. Here most of their Cattle doe feed their Owners being most some one way, some another, about

their plantations, and returne againe when they please, or any shipping comes in to trade. Here in winter they have hay for their Cattell, but in other places they browze upon wood, and the great huskes of their corne, with some corne in them, doth keepe them well. Mr. *Hutchins* saith, they have 2000. Cattle, and about 5000. people; but Master *Floud*, *Iohn Davis*, *William Emerson*, and divers others, say, about five thousand people, and five thousand kine, calves, oxen, and bulls: for goats, hogs, and poultry; corne, fish, deere, and many sorts of other wilde beasts, and fowle in their season, they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or foure hundred men more than they have: and doe oft much releeve many ships, both there, and for their returne; and this last yeare was there at least two or three and twenty saile. They have oft much salt fish from *New England*, but fresh fish enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Kecoughtan*, Apples, Peares, Apricocks, Vines, figges, and other fruits some have planted, that prospered exceedingly, but their diligence about Tobacco, left them to be spoiled by the cattell, yet now they beginne to revive; Mistresse *Pearce*, an honest industrious woman, hath beene there neere twentie yeares, and now returned, saith, shee hath a Garden at *Iames* towne, containing three or foure acres, where in one yeare shee hath gathered neere an hundred bushels of excellent figges; and that of her owne provision she can keepe a better house in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3. or 400. pounds a yeare, yet went thither with little or nothing. They have some tame geese, ducks, and turkies. The masters now do so traine up their servants and youth in shooting deere and fowle, that the youths will kill them as well as their Masters. They have two brewhouses, but they finde the *Indian* corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave sowing it. Their Cities and Townes are onely scattered houses, they call plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordnance mounted. The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were; no discoveries of any thing more, than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being so present a commodity of gaine, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are so disjoynted, and every one commander of himselfe, to plant what he will: they are now so well provided, that they are able to subsist: and if they

would joyne together now to worke upon Sope-ashes, Iron, Rape-oile, Mader, Pitch and Tarre, Flax and Hempe; as for their Tobacco, there comes from many places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captaine *Perse*, Captaine *Prine*, with Sir *Iohn Harvy* to be their governour, with two or three hundred people; there is also some from *Bristow*, and other parts of the West Country a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to blesse, and send them happy and prosperous voyage.

Nathaniel Causie, Master *Hutchins*, Master *Floud*, *Iohn Davis*, *William Emerson*, Master *William Barnet*, Master *Cooper*, and others.

CHAP. XXII.

The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Iles, *from* An. Dom. 1624. *to this present* 1629.

FROM the *Summer Iles*, Master *Ireland*, and divers others report, their Forts, Ordnance, and proceedings, are much as they were in the yeere 1622. as you may read in the generall History, page 199. Captaine *Woodhouse* governour.—There are few sorts of any fruits in the *West Indies* but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the soile in many places decayeth, being planted every yeare: for their Plantaines, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way, by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no such fruit in *Europe*, and wonderfull for increase. For fish, flesh, figs, wine, and all sorts of most excellent hearbs, fruits, and rootes they have an abundance. In this Governours time, a kinde of *Whale*, or rather a *Iubarta*, was driven on shore in *Southampton* tribe, from the west, over an infinite number of rocks, so bruised that the water in the Bay where she lay was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedasht with Parmacitty, congealed

like ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any byle, hurt, or bruise: some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuffe will burne, so long as there is any of the oile remaining, for two or three dayes together.

The next Governour, was Captaine *Philip Bell*, whose time being expired, Captaine *Roger Wood* possessed his place, a worthy Gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the Country; their numbers are about two or three thousand, men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint, is want of apparell, and too much custome, and too many officers; the pity is, there are more men then women, yet no great mischiefe, because there is so much lesse pride: the cattell they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be briefe, this Ile is an excellent bit, to rule a great horse.

All the Cohow birds and Egbirds are gone; seldome any wilde cats seene; no Rats to speake of; but the wormes are yet very troublesome; the people very healthfull: and the Ravens gone; fish enough, but not so neere the shore as it used, by the much beating it; it is an Ile that hath such a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled, and fortified, as few in the world doe exceed it, or is like it.

The 22. of March, two ships came from thence: the *Peter Bonaventure*, neere two hundred tunnes, and sixteene peeces of Ordnance; the Captaine, *Thomas Sherwin*; The Master, Master *Edward Some*, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valiant man: the *Lydia*, wherein was Master *Anthony Thorne*, a smaller ship; were chased by eleven ships of *Dunkerk*; being thus overmatched, Captaine *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Turbay*, only his valiant Master was slaine; the ship with about seventy *English* men, they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Cullis*, to *Dunkerk*; but the *Lydia* safely recovered *Dartmouth*.

These noble adventurers for all those losses, patiently doe beare them: but they hope the King and state will understand it is worth keeping, though it afford nothing but Tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, custome and fraught payed, yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; though

great men feele not those losses, yet Gardiners, Carpenters, and Smiths doe pay for it.

From the relation of *Robert Chesteven*, and others.

CHAP. XXIII.

The proceedings and present estate of New-England, *since* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

When I went first to the North part of *Virginia;* where the Westerly Colony had beene planted, it had dissolved it selfe within a yeare, and there was not one *Christian* in all the land. I was set forth at the sole charge of foure Merchants of *London;* the Country being then reputed by your westerlings, a most rockie, barren, desolate desart: but the good returne I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeve me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to vndertake it, thinking to have joyned them all together, but that might well have beene a worke for *Hercules.* Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the *Plimothians*, who only fed me but with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *French* men, as had beede reported: yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it *New-England*, they obscured it and shadowed it, with the title of *Canada*. All at my humble suit, it pleased our most Royall King *Charles*, whom God long keepe, blesse, and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirme it with my map and booke, by the title of *New-England:* the gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty saile, went yearely only to trade and fish; but

nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred, of your Brownists of *England*, *Amsterdam*, and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth* whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a yeare, to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe: many other have used the like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-wilied conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding the fishing ships, made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but mony not comming in as they expected, procured a Proclamation, none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds; besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the Country is nothing but wood, and none to make vse of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it selfe, by its owne wealth: hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those proiects would not prevaile, have since not hindred any to goe that would, that within these few last yeares, more have gone thither than ever.

Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke, and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May, they set saile from *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachuselts*, otherwise called *Charles* River; viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty peeces of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteene, the *Lions-whelpe* eight, the *May-Flower* fourteene, the *Foure Sisters*, fourteene, the *Pilgrim* foure, with three hundred and fifty men, women, and children: also an hundred and fifteene head of Cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beast: one and forty goats, some Conies, with all provision for houshold, and apparell: six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all provisions necessary for a plantation, for the good of man; other

particulars I vnderstand of no more, than is writ in the generall historie of those Countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord chiefe Iustice *Popham*, Iudge *Doderege*: the Right Honourable Earles of *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Salesbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all thinke, as I and them went with me, did; That had those two Countries beene planted, as it was intended, that no other nation should come plant betwixt us. If ever the King of *Spaine* and we should fall foule, those Countries being so capable of all materialls for shipping, by this might have beene owners of a good Fleet of ships, and to have releeved a whole Navy from *England* upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished *England* with the most Easterly commodities: and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Iles* fell to our shares, so neere the *West Indies*, wee might with much more facility than the *Dutchmen* have invaded the *West Indies*, that doth now put in practice, what so long hath beene advised on, by many an honest *English* States-man.

These Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother: and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content: and for those that would truly vnderstand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him: how oft up, how oft downe sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designes beene to have persuaded men to a mine of gold, though few doth conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention to passe to the South Sea; or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery: or some portable Countrie; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in the *East Indies;* or Letters of Mart to rob some poore Aleridians; what multitudes of both people and mony, would [illegible] to be [illegible] imployed into intuose noble endevours (now) how few of quality, vnlesse it be to beg some Monopolie; and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods; as you may reade at large in his generall history, page. 217. 218. 219. his generall observations and reasons for this plantation; for yet those Countries are not so forward but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this *Smith*

will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty; or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make *Virginia* able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all; and yeeld the King more custome within these few yeares, in certaine staple commodities, than ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the custome will bee as uncertaine to the King, as dangerous to the plantations.

CHAP. XXIIII.

A briefe discourse of divers voyages made vnto the goodly Countrey of* Guiana, *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.

It is not unknowen how that most industrious and honourable Knight Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, in the yeare of our Lord 1595. taking the Ile of *Trinidado*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana* Northward of the Line ten degrees, and coasted the Coast; and searched up the River *Oranoco:* where understanding that twentie severall voyages had beene made by the *Spanyards*, in discovering this Coast and River; to finde a passage to the great Citie of *Mano*, called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden Citie: he did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations: But meanes failing him, hee left his trustie servant *Francis Sparrow* to seeke it, who wandring up and downe those Countreyes, some foureteene or fifteene yeares, unexpectedly returned: I have heard him say, he was led blinded into this Citie by *Indians;* but little discourse of any purpose touching the largenesse of the report of it; his body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, shortly dyed here after in *England*. There are above thirtie faire rivers that fall into the Sea, betweene the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoco*, which are some nine degrees asunder.

In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe

in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried, and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, well knowen to be a most noble Gentleman, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Mogoll*, or the Great *Turke*, spent a yeare or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazones*, wherein he most imployed Captaine *Matthew Morton*, an expert Sea-man in the discoverie of this famous River, a Gentlemen that was the first shot and mortally supposed wounded to death, with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath beene twice with command in the *East Indies;* Also Captaine *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfitly, but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captaine *Robert Harcote*, 1609.

This worthy Gentleman, after he had by Commission made a discoverie to his minde, left his brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fiftie or sixtie men in the River *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henrie*, a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazones*, to him and his heires: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few hee sent over as passengers with certaine *Dutch-men*, but to small purpose. Thus this businesse lay dead for divers yeeres, till Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Souldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last voyage to *Guiana*. amongst the which was Captaine *Roger North*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this voyage having stayed and seene divers Rivers upon this Coast, tooke such a liking to those Countreyes, having had before this voyage more perfect and practical information of the excellencie of the great River of the *Amazones* above any of the rest, by certaine *Englishmen* returned so rich from thence in good commodities, they would not goe with Sir *Walter Rauleigh* in search of gold; that after his returne for *England*, he endevoured by his best abilities to interest his Countrey and state in those faire Regions, which by the way of Letters Patents unto divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie, erected into a

company and perpetuitie for trade and plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captaine *Harcote*.

Whereupon accompanied with 120. Gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace and two shallops, to remaine in the Countrey, hee set saile from *Plimouth* the last of April 1620, and within seven weekes after hee arrived well in the *Amazones*, only with the losse of one old man: some hundred leagues they ran up the River to settle his men, where the sight of the Countrey and people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happie: Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight yeeres, only supplyed by the *Dutch*, hee reduced to his company and to leave the *Dutch:* having made a good voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England* with divers good commodities, besides Tobacco: So that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not beene thus crossed, the Generalitie of *England* had by this time beene wonne and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great businesse effected, by reason of the great power the Lord *Gundamore*, Ambassadour for the King of *Spaine*, had in *England*, to crosse and ruine those proceedings, and so unfortunate Captaine *North* was in this businesse, hee was twice committed prisoner to the Tower, and the goods detained, till they were spoiled, who beyond all others was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser.

Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the *Amazons* would not abandon the Countrey. Captaine *Thomas Painton*, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant dead.—Captaine *Charles Parker*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Morley*, lived there six yeares after; Mr. *John Christmas*, five yeares, so well, they would not returne, although they might, with divers other Gentle-men of qualitie and others: all thus destitute of any supplyes from *England*.—But all authoritie being dissolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings, than all other crosses whatsoever. Some releefe they had sometime from the *Dutch*, who knowing their estates, gave what they pleased and tooke what they list. Two brothers Gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who stayed three yeares there, are now gone to stay in the *Amazons*, in the ships lately sent thither.

The businesse thus remaining in this sort, three private men left of that Company, named Mr. *Thomas Warriner*,

Iohn Rhodes, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two yeares, came for *England*, and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the *Amazons* for want of Government amongst their Countrey-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made meanes to set themselves out for St. *Christophers;* their whole number being but fifteene persons, that payed for their passage in a ship going for *Virginia*, where they remained a yeare before they were supplyed, and then that was but foure or five men. Thus this Ile, by the small beginning, having no interruption by their owne Countrey, hath now got the start of the Continent and maine Land of *Guiana*, which hath beene layd apart and let alone untill that Captaine *North*, ever watching his best opportunitie and advantage of time in the state, hath now againe pursued and set on foot his former designe. Captaine *Harcote* being now willing to surrender his grant, and to joyne with Captaine *North*, in passing a new Patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coast and Countrey of *Guiana* for ever. Whereupon, they have sent this present yeare in Ianuarie, and since 1628. foure ships with neere two hundred persons; the first ship with 112. men not one miscarried: the rest went since, not yet heard of, and are preparing another with their best expedition: and since Ianuarie is gone from *Holland*, 100. *English* and *Irish*, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chiefe head lands North and South, are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is so full of many great and small Iles, it is an easie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest rivers in *America*, and as most men thinke, in the world: and commeth downe with such a fresh, it maketh the Sea fresh more than thirtie miles from the shore. Captaine *North* having seated his men about an hundred leagues in the Maine, sent Captaine *William White*, with thirtie Gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirtie tun, to discover further, which they did some two hundred leagues, where they found the River to divide it selfe in two parts, till then all full of Ilands, and a Countrey most healthfull, pleasant and fruitfull: for they found food enough, and all returned safe and in good health: In this discoverie they saw many Townes well inhabited, some with three hundred people, some with five, six, or seven hundred; and of some they

understood to be of so many thousands, most differing verie much, especially in their languages: whereof they suppose by those *Indians*, they understand are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any *Christian*, most of them starke naked, both men, women and children, but they saw not any such giant-like women as the Rivers name importeth. But for those where Captaine *North* hath seated his company, it is not knowen where *Indians* were ever so kinde to any Nation, not sparing any paines, danger or labour, to feed and maintaine them. The *English* following their buildings, fortifications and sugar-workes; for which they have sent most expert men, and with them all things necessarie for that purpose: to effect which, they want not the helpe of those kinde *Indians* to produce; and many other good commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plaine and apparent to this Kingdome, and all the Adventurers and Well-willers to this Plantation, to bee well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacritie.

CHAP. XXV.

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christopher *by Captaine* Warner.

Master *Ralfe Merifield* and others, having furnished this worthy industrious Gentleman, hee arrived at St. *Christophers*, as is said, with fifteene men, the 28. of Ianuarie, 1623. viz. *William Tested*, *John Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, Mr. *Benifield*, Sergeant *Iones*, Mr. *Ware*, *William Royle*, *Rowland Grascocke*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Weaver*, *Edward Warner* their Captaines sonne, and now Deputy-Governour till his fathers returne, Sergeant *Aplon*, one Sailer and a Cooke: At their arrivall they found three *French-men*, who sought to oppose Captaine *Warner*, and to set the *Indians* upon us: but at last we all became friends, and lived with the *Indians* a moneth, then we built a Fort, and a house, and planting fruits, by September we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of September came a *Hericano*

and blew it away, all this while we lived upon Cassada bread, Potatoes, Plantines, Pines, Turtles, Guanes, and fish plentie; for drinke wee had *Nicnobbie.*

The 18. of March 1624. arrived Captaine *Iefferson* with three men passengers in the *Hope-well* of *London*, with some trade for the *Indians*, and then we had another crop of Tobacco, in the meane time the *French* had planted themselves in the other end of the Ile: with this crop Captaine *Warner* returned for *England* September, 1625.

In his absence came in a French pinnace. under the command of *Monsieur de Nombe*, that told us, the *Indians* had slaine some *Frenchmen* in other of the *Charybes* Iles, and that there were six Peryagoes, which are huge great trees formed as your Canowes, but so laid out on the sides with boords, they will seeme like a little Gally: six of those, with about foure or five hundred strange *Indians* came vnto us, we bade them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joyned together, and upon the fifth of November set upon them, and put them to flight: upon New-yeares Even they came againe, found three *English* going about the Ile. whom they slue.

Vntill the fourth of August, we stood upon our guard, living upon the spoile and did nothing. But now Captaine *Warner* arriving againe with neere an hundred people, then we fell to worke and planting as before; but upon the fourth of September, came such a Hericano, as blew downe all our houses, Tobacco, and two Drums into the aire we know not whither, drove two ships on shore that were both split; all our provision thus lost, we were very miserable, living onely on what we could get in the wilde woods, we made a small party of *French* and *English* to goe aboord for provision, but in their returning home, eight *French* men were slaine in the harbour.

Thus wee continued till neere Iune that the *Tortels* came came in, 1627. but the *French* being like to starve, sought to surprize us, and all the Cassado, Potatos, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26. of October, came in Captaine *William Smith*, in the *Hope-well*, with some Ordnance, shot and powder, from the Earle of *Carlile*; with Captaine *Pelham* and thirty men. about that time also came the *Plow*; also a small ship of *Bristow*, with Captaine *Warners* wife, and six or seven women more.

Vpon the 25 of November, the *Indians* set upon the *French*, for some injury about their women, and slew six and twentie *French* men, five *English*, and three *Indians*. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes; their bowes are never bent, but the string lies flat to the bow; their arrowes a small reed, foure or five foot long, headed some with the poysoned sting of the taile of a Stingray, some with iron, some with wood, but all so poysoned, that if they draw but bloud, the hurt is incurable.

The next day came in Captaine *Charles Saltonstall*, a young Gentleman, son of Sir *Samuell Saltonstall*, who brought with him good store of all commodities to releeve the plantation; but by reason some *Hollanders*, and others, had bin there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon trust till the next crop; in the meane time hee resolved there to stay, and imploy himselfe and his company in planting Tobacco, hoping thereby to make a voyage, but before he could be ready to returne for *England*, a *Herizano* happning, his ship was split, to his great losse, being sole Merchant and owner himselfe, notwithstanding forced to pay to the Governour, the fift part of his Tobacco, and for franght to *England*, three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound custome, which amounts together to more than three score pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those plantations.— Neverthelesse he is gone againe this present yeare 1629. with a ship of about three hundred tunnes, and very neere two hundred people, with Sir *William Tuffton* Governour for the *Barbados*, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captaine *Prinne*, Captaine *Stone*, and divers others, came in about Christmas; so that this last yeare there hath beene about thirtie saile of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* ships, and all the *Indians* forced out of the Ile, for they had done much mischiefe amongst the *French*, in cutting their throats, burning their houses, and spoyling their Tobacco; amongst the rest *Tegramund*, a little childe the Kings sonne, his parents being slaine, or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to *England* by Master *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his owne children.

It lyeth seventeene degrees Northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the neerest maine land in *America*, it is about eight leagues in length, and foure in bredth; an Iland amongst 100. Iles in the *West Indies*, called the *Caribes*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *West Indies*, refresh themselves; those most of them are rocky, little, and mountainous, yet frequented with the *Canibals*: many of them inhabited, as Saint *Domingo*, Saint *Martalin*, Saint *Lucia*, Saint *Vincent*, *Granada*, and *Margarita*, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint *Christophers*, and it but lately, yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceado*, *Monserat*, *Antigua*, *Mecis*, *Bernardo*, Saint *Martin*, and Saint *Bartholomew*, but the worst of the foure Iles possessed by the *Spanyard*, as *Portorico* or *Iamica*, is better than them all; as for *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they are worthy the title of two rich Kingdomes, the rest not respected by the *Spanyards*, for want of harbors, and their better choice of good land, and profit in the maine. But Captaine *Warner*, having beene very familiar with Captaine *Painton*, in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this St. *Christophers*; and having made a yeares tryall, as it is said, returned for *England*, ioyning with Master *Merifield*, and his friends, got Letters Pattents from King *James*, to plant and possesse it. Since then, the Right Honourable the Earle of *Carlile*, hath got Letters Pattents also, not only of that, but all the *Caribes* Iles about it, who is now chiefe Lord of them, and the *English* his tenants, that doe possesse them: over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers; as their affaires require; and although there be a great custome imposed upon them, considering their other charges, both to feed and maintaine themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, neere upon the number of three thousand people: where by reason of the rockinesse and thicknesse of the woods in the Ile, it is difficult to passe, and such a snuffe of the Sea goeth on the shore, ten may better defend, than fifty assault. In this Ile are many springs, but yet water is scarce againe in many places; the valleyes and sides of the hills very fertile, but the mountaines harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrowne with *Palmetas*, *Cotten* trees; *Lignum vita*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in *Christendome*, except those carried thither; the aire very pleasant and healthfull, but

exceeding hot, yet so tempered with coole breaths, it seemes very temperate to them, that are a little used to it; the trees being alwaies greene, the daies and nights alwayes very neere equall in length, alwayes Summer; only they have in their seasons great gusts and raines, and sometimes a Hericano, which is an overgrowne, and, a most violent storme.

In some of those Iles, are cattell, goats, and hogges, but here none but what they must carry; *Gwanes* they have, which is a little harmelesse beast, like a *Crokadell*, or *Aligator*, very fat and good meat, she layes egges in the sand, as doth the land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Conies in Boroughs, unlesse about May, when they come downe to the Sea side, to lay in the sand, as the other; and all their egges are hatched by the heat of the Sunne.

From May to September they have good store of *Tortasses*, that come out of the Sea to lay their egges in the sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay halfe a pecke at a time, and neere a bushell ere they have done; and are round like Tenis-balls: this fish is like veale in taste, the fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholsome. We seeke them in the nights, where we finde them on shore, we turne them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never returne themselves, being so hard a cart may goe over them; and so bigge, one will suffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers sorts of other fish they have in abundance, and *Prawnes* most great and excellent, but none will keepe sweet scarce twelve houres.

Birds.—The best and greatest is a *Passer Flaminga*, which walking at her length is as tall as a man; *Pigeons* and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wilde *Hawkes*, but divers other sorts of good Sea fowle, whose names we know not.

Cassado is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderfull increase, and will make very good white bread, but the Iuyce ranke poyson, yet boyled, better than wine; *Potatos*, *Cabbages* and *Radish* plenty.

Mayes, like the *Virginia* wheat: we have Pine-apples, neere so bigge as an Hartichocke, but the most daintiest taste of any fruit; *Plantains*, an excellent and a most increasing fruit; Apples, Prickell Peares, and Pease, but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red

huske, as bigge as a Walnut, about foure inches in length, but the long cods are small, and much stronger, and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*. There is two sorts of Cotten, the Silke Cotten as in the *East Indies*, groweth upon a small stalke, as good for beds as downe; the other upon a shrub and beareth a cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotten wooll: Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of Anotto, very good for Dyers. though wilde; Sugar Canes, not tame, 4. or 5. foot high; also Masticke, and Locus trees; great and hard timber, Gourds, Muske Melons, Water Melons, Lettice, Parsly; all places naturally beare purslaine of it selfe; Sope-berries like a Musket bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the root is a thing like a sedge, a very good fruit, we call Pengromes; a Pappaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat; a small hard nut, like a hazell nut, growes close to the ground, and like this growes on the Palmetas, which we call a Mucca nut; Mustard-seed will grow to a great tree, but beares no seed, yet the leeves will make good mustard; the Mancinell tree the fruit is poyson; good figs in abundance; but the Palmeta serveth to build Forts and houses, the leaves to cover them, and many other uses; the iuyce we draw from them, till we sucke them to death, (is held restorative) and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage; but oft we want poudered Beefe, and Bacon, and many other needfull necessaries.

By *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Grascocke*,
Nicholas Burgh, and others.

CHAP. XXVI.

The first planting of the Barbados.

THE *Barbados* lies South-west and by South, an hundred leagues from Saint *Christophers*, threescore leagues West and South from *Trinidado*, and some fourescore leagues

from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the maine. The first planters brought thither by Captaine *Henry Powel*, were forty *English*, with seven or eight *Negros;* then he went to *Disacuba* in the maine, where he got thirty *Indians*, men, women, and children, of the *Arawacos*, enemies both to the *Caribes*, and the *Spaniards*. The Ile is most like a triangle, each side forty or fifty miles square, some exceeding great rocks, but the most part exceeding good ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent fish; many great ponds wherein is Ducke and Mallard; excellent clay for pots, wood and stone for building, and a spring neere the middest of the Ile of Bitume, which is a liquid mixture like Tarre, that by the great raines falls from the tops of the mountaines, it floats upon the water in such abundance, that drying up, it remaines like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any use.

The Mancinell apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bignesse of a Crab, but ranke poyson, yet the Swine and Birds have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great Locus trees, two or three fadome about, of a great height, that beareth a cod full of meale, will make bread in time of necessity. A tree like a Pine, beareth a fruit so great as a Muske Melon, which hath alwayes ripe fruit, flowers or greene fruit, which will refresh two or three men, and very comfortable; Plumb trees many, the fruit great and yellow, which but strained into water in foure and twenty houres will be very good drinke; wilde figge trees there are many; all those fruits doe fat the hogges, yet at some times of the yeare they are so leane, as carrion; Gwane trees beare a fruit so bigge as a Peare, good and wholsome; Palmetaes of three severall sorts: Papawes, Prickle Peares good to eat or make drinke; Cedar trees very tall and great; Fusticke trees are very great and the wood yellow, good for dying; sope berries, the kernell so bigge as a sloe, and good to eat: Pampeons in abundance; Goads [gourds] so great as will make good great bottles, and cut in two peeces good dishes and platters; many small brooks of very good water: Ginni wheat, Cassado, Pines and Plantaines; all things we there plant doe grow exceedingly, so well as Tobacco; the corne, pease, and beanes, cut but away the stalke, young sprigs will grow, and so beare fruit for many yeeres together, without any more planting: the Ile is overgrowne with wod or great

reeds, those wods which are soft are exceeding light and full of pitch, and those that are hard, are so hard and great, they are as hard to cut as stone.

Master *Iohn Powell* came thither the fourth of August 1627. with forty five men, where we stayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his sonne *Iohn Powell* for his Deputy, as Governour; but there have beene so many factions amongst them, I cannot from so many variable relations give you any certainty for their orderly Government: for all those plenties, much misery they have endured, in regard of their weaknesse at their landing, and long stay without supplies; therefore those that goe thither, it were good they carrie good provision with them; but the Ile is most healthfull, and all things planted doe increase abundantly: and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteene or sixteene hundred people.

Sir *William Curtine*, and Captaine *Iohn Powell*, were the first and chiefe adventurers to the planting this fortunate Ile; which had beene oft frequented by men of Warre to refresh themselves, and set vp their shallops: being so farre remote from the rest of the Iles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes, which with a small charge might bee very well fortified; it doth ebbe and flow foure or five foot, and they cannot perceive there hath ever beene any Hericano in that Ile.

From the relations of Captaine *Iohn White*,
and Captaine *Wolverstone*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The first plantation of the Ile of Mevis.

Because I have ranged and lived amongst those Ilands, what my authours cannot tell me, I thinke it no great errour in helping them to tell it my selfe. In this little of *Mevis*,

more than twenty yeares agoe, I have remained a good time together, to wod, and water and refresh my men; it is all woddy, but by the Sea side Southward there are sands like downes, where a thousand men may quarter themselves conveniently; but in most places the wod groweth close to the water side, at a high water marke, and in some places so thicke of a soft spungy wood like a wilde figge tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets, or fauchions: whether it was the dew of those trees, or of some others, I am not certaine, but many of our men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their bodies, they seemed like scalded men, and neere mad with paine; here we found a great Poole, wherein bathing themselves, they found much ease; and finding it fed with a pleasant small streame that came out of the woods, we found the head halfe a mile within the land, distilling from a many of rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three dayes. Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made, but Captaine *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to vse them; but not any one of the inuenters, but their lives by iustice fell into his power, to determine of at his pleasure, whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him.

The last yeare, 1628. Master *Littleton*, with some others got a Pattent of the Earle of *Carlile*, to plant the Ile called the *Barbados*, thirty leagues Northward of Saint *Christophers;* which by report of their informers, and undertakers, for the excellencie, and pleasantnesse thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it such a barren rocke, they left it; although they were told as much before, they would not beleeve it, perswading themselves, those contradicters would get it for themselves. was thus by their cunning opinion, the deceiver of themselves; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map, they had not patience to know the goodnesse or badnesse, the inconvenience nor probabilities of the quality, nor quantity; which errour doth predominate in both of our home-bred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may see by many examples in the generall history, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the truth from amongst

so many forren and severall relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries, people and their conditions: and those ignorant undertakings, have beene the greatest hinderance of all those plantations.

At last because they would be absolute, they came to *Mevis*, a little Ile by Saint *Christophers;* where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries, being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons, whereof many were old planters, of Saint *Christophers*, especially Master *Anthony Hinton*, and Master *Edward Tompson*. But because all those Ilcs for most part are so capable to produce, and in nature like each other, let this discourse serve for the description of them all. Thus much concerning those plantations, which now after all this time, losse, and charge, should they be abandoned, suppressed, and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this Tobacco, and that the fraught thereof, and other charges are so great, and so open to any enemie, by that commodity they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such miracles of mischiefes in men: how greedily they pursue to dispossesse the planters of the Name of Christ Iesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murthering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and Countries, and subverting so many kingdomes, when so much lieth vast, or only possessed by a few poore Savages, that more serve the Devill for feare, than God for love; whose ignorance we pretend to reforme, but couetousnesse, humours, ambition, faction, and pride, hath so many instruments, we performe very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hinderance of any honest intended christian plantation.

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*: how first he planted *Virginia*, and was sent ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll, before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations, then

brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas* saved his life, returned him to *Iames* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations, upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke;* stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray: how *Powhatan* out of his Country tooke the kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those kings to pay him contribution, subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured.

Also how he brought our new *England* to the subjection of the kingdome of great *Britaine;* his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the *French* against the *Spaniards;* their bad vsage of him: how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* Ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New-England*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The bad life qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moores *to become men of warre.*

As in all lands where there are many people, there are some theeves, so in all Seas much frequented, there are some pyrats; the most ancient within the memory of threescore yeares was one *Callis*, who most refreshed himselfe upon the Coast of *Wales: Clinton* and *Purser* his companions, who grew famous, till Queene *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, hanged them at *Wapping: Flemming* was as expert and as

much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his Country, that discovering the *Spanish Armado*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yeelded himselfe freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* comming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his pardon, and a good reward: some few Pirats there then remained; notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great Navy, by wind and weather, victuall, sicknesse, losing and finding one another, they seldome defray halfe the charge: but for the grace, state, and defence of the Coast and narrow Seas, a great Navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any farre voyage, except there be such a competent stocke, they want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition; but to the purpose.

After the death of our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory, our Royall King *Iames*, who from his infancy had reigned in peace with all Nations; had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poore and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats: some, because they became sleighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some, that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats.

Now because they grew hatefull to all *Christian* Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where although there be not many good Harbours, but *Tunis*, *Angier*, *Sally*, *Memora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is their chiefe Lordship: For their best harbours *Massalqueber*, the townes of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tanger*, and *Cuta*, within the Streights, are possessed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have also *Arzella*, and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* likewise they have lately taken, and fortified.—*Ward* a poore *English* sailer, and *Dansker* a *Dutchman*, made first here their Marts, when the *Moores* knew scarce how to saile a ship: *Bishop* was Ancient, and did little hurt;

but *Easton* got so much, as made himselfe a Marquesse in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Bashaw in *Barbary*; those were the first that taught the *Moores* to be men of warre.—*Gennings*, *Harris*, *Tompson*, and divers others, were taken in *Ireland*, a Coast they much frequented, and died at *Wapping*. *Hewes*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walsingam*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwell*, *Wollistone*, *Barrow*, *Wilson*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all these were Captaines amongst the Pirats, whom King *Iames* mercifully pardoned; and was it not strange, a few of these should command the Seas. Notwithstanding the *Malteses*, the Pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeses*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Gallies, and Men of Warre, they would rob before their faces, and even at their owne Ports, yet seldome more than three, foure, five or six in a Fleet: many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrellous, treacherous, blasphemous, and villanous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue, to doe so much mischiefe; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst *Iewes*, *Turks*, *Moores*, and whores.

The best was, they could seldome goe to Sea, so long as they could possibly live on shore, being compiled of *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Moores*, (but very few *Spanyards*, or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the *Turks* and *Moores* beganne to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many an accursed runnagado, or *Christian* turned *Turke* did, till they have made those Sally men, or *Moores* of *Barbary* so powerfull as they be, to the terror of all the Straights, and many times they take purchase in the maine Ocean, yea sometimes even in the narrow Seas in *England*, and those are the most cruell villaines in *Turkie*, or *Barbarie*; whose natives are very noble, and of good natures, in comparison of them.

To conclude, the misery of a Pirate (although many are as sufficient Seamen as any) yet in regard of his superfluity, you shall finde it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wilde beasts, than them: therefore let all unadvised persons take heed, how they entertaine that quality; and I could wish Merchants, Gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships, not to bee sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment:

for neither Souldiers nor Sea-men can live without meanes; but necessity will force them to steale; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed.—Those titles of Sea-men and Souldiers, have beene most worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for most part, but as the scumme of the world; regaine therefore your wonted reputations, and endevour rather to adventure to those faire plantations of our *English* Nation; which however in the beginning were scorned and contemned, yet now you see how many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poore as any Souldier or Sailer, and gets more in one yeare, than you by Piracie in seven. I intreat you therefore to consider, how many thousands yearely goe thither; also how many Ships and Sailers are imployed to transport them, and what custome they yearely pay to our most Royall King *Charles*, whose prosperity and his Kingdomes good, I humbly beseech the immortall God ever to preserve and increase.

FINIS.

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